THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS IN AMERICA

KENNETH D. MILLER

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THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS IN AMERICA

KENNETH D. MILLER

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BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

CHARLES HATCH SEARS

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INTRODUCTION

The New American Series consists of studies of the following racial groups together with a study of the Eastern Orthodox Churches:

Albanian and Bulgarian, Armenian and Assyrian-Chaldean, Czecho-Slovak, Greek, Italian, Jewish, Jugo-Slav (Croatian, Servian, Slovenian), Magyar, Polish, Russian and Ruthenian, or Ukrainian, Spanish (Spaniards) and Portuguese, Syrian.

These studies, made under the auspices of the Interchurch World Movement, were undertaken to show, in brief outline, the social, economic and religious background, European or Asiatic, of each group and to present the experience—social, economic and religious—of the particular group in America, with special reference to the contact of the given people with religious institutions in America.

It was designed that the studies should be sympathetic but critical.

It is confidently believed that this series will help America to appreciate and appropriate the spiritual wealth represented by the vast body of New Americans, each group having its own peculiar heritage and potentialities; and will lead Christian America, so far as she will read them, to become a better lover of mankind.

The writer, in each case, is a kinsman or has had direct and intimate relationship with the people, or group of peoples, presented. First hand knowledge and the ability to study and write from a deeply sympathetic and broadly Christian viewpoint were primary conditions in the selection of the authors.

The author of this volume (Czecho-Slovak) has lived in Czechoslovakia, with special opportunity to know the people, particularly the Czechs, and has had several years of direct experience with the Czecho-Slovaks in America in service under the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions.

These manuscripts are published through the courtesy of the Interchurch World Movement with the cooperative aid of various denominational boards, through the Home Missions Council of America.

At this writing arrangements have been made for the publication of only six of the Series, namely: Czecho-Slovak, Greek, Italian, Magyar, Polish and Russian, but other manuscripts will be published as soon as funds or advanced orders are secured.

A patient review of all manuscripts, together with a checking up of facts and figures, has been made by the Associate Editor, Dr. Frederic A. Gould, to whom we are largely indebted for statistical and verbal accuracy. The editor is responsible for the general plan and scope of the studies and for questions of policy in the execution of this work.

CHARLES HATCH SEARS.

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THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS IN AMERICA

Chapter I

EUROPEAN BACKGROUNDS

WHO ARE THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS?

"Who are the Czecho-Slovaks?" This is a question which has arisen in the minds of many an American who has been confused with the apparent multiplication of new nations during the world war. Jugo-Slavs, Esthonians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Czecho-Slovaks—these have been names to conjure with.

Czechs and Slovaks.—It will be of assistance to the reader if we answer this question clearly at the very outset. This may best be done by separating the name into its component parts. The Czecho-Slovaks are not a new nation; only the name is new in English political and geographical terminology. The Czecho-Slovaks represent, as the name indicates, a union of two nationalities, the Czechs and the Slovaks. The Czechs are better known to us here in America as the Bohemians. The name "Czech" is the nomenclature of the people themselves, and in spite of the Polish spelling which makes its pronun-

ciation seemingly impossible to the Anglo-Saxon, is to be preferred to the ambiguous term "Bohemian." The correct pronunciation is *Chekh.* The Slovaks are known popularly, but incorrectly as "Slavish."

Relations to each other.—These two nationalities are so closely allied in language and traditions that it was natural, as well as politically expedient, that they should join forces in that revolutionary movement against the Austro-Hungarian monarchy which has so successfully resulted in the formation of an independent Czecho-Slovak Republic. The two languages are slightly different, but mutually understandable; and it would seem natural, especially now that they are united in one state, that there should be a complete merger of language and culture. Nevertheless, the differences in economic, political and religious development are so radical that a distinction should be made at almost every point between conditions prevailing among the Czechs and those among the Slovaks. For our purpose it might be better to study each nationality separately, for in this country the life of the Slovaks is a thing quite apart from the life of the Czechs. But in recognition of the political union of the two nationalities, and with a view of avoiding further confusion of the minds of Americans, the two nationalities are here treated together.

Location.—Both nationalities are of the Slavic race. Their languages are akin to the Polish, and Russian, and related to the Serbian and Croatian. Together they number approximately eight millions, of which six are Czechs and two Slovaks. Both were subjects of Emperor Carl, the Czechs however being situated in Austria, in the provinces of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, while the Slovaks were to be found in Hungary, scattered along the southern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains. Both have an interesting if hectic history.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Czechs under the Hapsburgs.—Back in the Twelfth Century, Prague was the capital of the extensive and influential Kingdom of Bohemia, and was a centre of political and cultural influence second to no other city in Europe. The Czechs, however, became the victims of Teutonic imperialism, and in 1620 lost every vestige of their independence. From that time until the Great War, the Czechs were a subject nationality, finally arriving at the unenviable position of being brought into that heterogeneous, political hodge-podge, which was called the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Their national life, language, literature and culture were well nigh extinguished. A very remarkable renaissance of Czech national language and literature, bringing with it a revival of the Czech national consciousness, occurred during the Nineteenth Century. This movement, initiated by a small group of historians and savants, developed into a political protest under the leadership of Havlicek, Palácký and others in 1848, which in those turbulent days in Europe's history, was not altogether ineffectual. Particularly after the reorganization of Central Europe in 1866, and the creation of the Dual Monarchy, the Czechs were able to wrest from their Teuton overlords some recognition of their political and national rights. They still remained very truly a subject nationality, but they did gain the right to maintain schools in their own language, and to some representation in the Austrian Reichstag.

Growth of revolutionary spirit.—The establishment of schools in their own language resulted in the education of a new generation in which the Czech national consciousness was strongly developed. The promotion of Czech music, through the National Theatre at Prague; of Czech art through the National Museum; of Czech literature and history through the

University of Prague; and, last but not least, the insistent nationalistic propaganda carried on through the "Sokol"[1] prepared the ground for the revolutionary movement against Austro-Hungary, which took definite shape only after the outbreak of the World War.

Economic changes.—These changes in the political and social life of the Czechs were accompanied by even greater changes in the economic life, which also prepared the way for independence. During the centuries of absolute Teutonic dominance, the Czechs were all peasants, and, until 1848, lived in a condition of semi-serfdom. There were few Czechs in commerce or industry, and no Czech nobility. Theirs was that traditional consciousness of inferiority characteristic of the peasant. Just as there was a God in heaven, so it was ordained that there should be masters, and German masters, on the earth. With the end of serfdom, came the rise of the small but independent Czech farmer. And, what is more important, the last half of the Nineteenth Century witnessed a great industrial development in Austria, which involved the Czechs especially, owing to the great natural resources for industry abounding in their lands. At the outbreak of the war, the Czech provinces of Austria were more industrial than agricultural. This involved new employment for the people and a great migration from the country to the city. It brought with it a greater degree of economic independence, a rise in the standard of living, a heightened national consciousness, and a tendency to shake off all authority, whether it be vested in the State or in the Church. The Czech was rapidly being prepared for self-government.

The Slovaks under the Magyars.—The Slovaks

[1] lit. "Falcon"—ostensibly a gymnastic society on the order of the German Turn Verein, but used freely for the dissemination of the anti-Austrian and pro-Czech idea.

have no independent political history. In their days of tribulation and oppression, they could not even point back to the glorious past of their nation, as could the Czechs in their folk-lore. The Czechs could sing with mournful pride "Once the Czechs were great;" the Slovaks, never. They have been successively under Czech, Polish, and Magyar rule; they have been harried by Tartar invasions, torn by the Hussite wars, a pawn in the hands of Magyar oligarchs. They had never tasted freedom. Their lot under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was harder even that that of their kinsmen, the Czechs. In organizing the Dual Monarchy, the Austro-Germans and the Magyars proceeded upon the principle "Divide and Rule." The boundaries and political institutions were so constituted as to enable a German minority in Austria to rule over a Slavic majority (Czechs, Poles, Ruthenians); while a Magyar minority in Hungary ruled over a majority composed of Roumanians, Croatians and Slovaks. In Austria, the aim of the government was to Germanize the Slavic populations; in Hungary, to Magyarize them. To be sure, the Magyars were placed in an unenviable position in being surrounded on all sides by alien nationalities which seemed to threaten the very existence of their race. A strong Magyarizing policy seemed to them to be nothing else than self-defence. But that this policy, as pursued by the Magyar ruling class, was a mistaken one the present state of the Magyars bears abundant witness.

Slovak national feeling.—This policy of forcible Magyarization of the Slovaks carried with it the denial to them of schools in their own language; the denial of political, economic and social privileges, and, even, in some cases, the consolations of religious worship to all save those who bent to the will of the rulers and became "Magyarones." It is to the everlasting credit of the Slo-

vaks that they did not succumb completely to this process of Magyarization. Denied the right of free speech and assemblage, with all literature in the dialect under the ban, save that which passed a Magyar censorship, the Slovaks managed to keep the flame of Slovak national feeling from dying out altogether. The nationalistic movement amongst the Czechs had its effect upon them, and the Slovak national movement was slowly gaining impetus when the great war came upon them and swept them off to the front to fight for Franz Josef. Indisputably, however, the Slovaks would not have been in a position to push their claims for self-determination or at a stage to exercise them, had not the Czechs decided to include them in their revolutionary propaganda, and to work for a Czecho-Slovak state instead of a Czech state.

The Slovaks came into independence in the wake of the Czechs. In point of view of education, economic and cultural development, they would scarcely have been ready to stand alone without the aid of the Czechs.

Necessity of union between Czechs and Slovaks.— Prior to the war there was a tendency among some Slovak leaders to develop the Slovak nationalistic idea along separate lines from the Czech. There is an echo of that idea in present misunderstandings between the Czechs and Slovaks under the Republic. It is to be hoped however that these differences will be reconciled. The Slovaks use the Czech translation of the Scriptures even to-day. Prior to 1850 their literary language was Czech, Slovak being but a vernacular. Since that time, newspapers and literary efforts, are published in Slovak. The difference between the two is not greater than the difference between the English of Edinburgh and that of New York. Everything points to the wisdom of a cultural as well as political union between the two nationalities. No matter what the cultural development

may be, neither nationality can well maintain its political independence without the other. Certainly the success of their movement for independence was largely due to their united effort.

Independent Czecho-Slovakia.—The story of the winning of the independence of Czechoslovakia is one of the romances of the war. The flight of Professor Masaryk, the great Czech leader, from Austria; his heroic diplomatic campaign of propaganda at the Allied capitals; the revolts of the Czech and Slovak troops in the Austrian army; their desertion to the Russians and Italians; the formation of Czecho-Slovak legions in France, Italy, and Russia; the heroic deeds of the latter upon the occasion of their anabasis across Siberia and their campaign against the Bolsheviki; the faith and devotion of thousands of exiled Czechs and Slovaks for the cause of independence, leading them to unparalleled deeds of heroism for the unborn republic; the silent endurance of persecution by those at home—it is a story of a glorious fight for freedom gloriously won. The end came suddenly with the collapse of Austria. The revolution was accomplished in Prague without bloodshed on October 28th, 1918. In those parts of Austria and Hungary occupied by Czechs and Slovaks, the imperial officials were deposed and the government seized by the revolutionists. In Prague the independence of the Czecho-Slovak Republic was proclaimed amid wild demonstrations of joy upon the part of the populace. After three hundred years of oppression, the Czechs and Slovaks had come into their own.

The new government.—Professor Thomas Garrique Masaryk, the valiant leader of the revolutionary movement, the most astute statesman of central Europe, was named as the first President. As members of his cabinet were named such prominent Czech and Slovak patriots as Kramář, the Premier; Beneš,

Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Stefáník, Minister of War. Steps were taken immediately to convene a national assembly, elected by universal suffrage, which was to assume legislative powers until such a time as the Peace Conference should determine the exact status and boundaries of the new republic, and opportunity be given to convene a Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution.

Dangers without.—Upon this basis, the new republic proceeded until March, 1920, when a constitution was adopted and elections held under it. The Peace Conference fixed the boundaries of the Czecho-Slovak Republic nearly in conformity with the claims of the revolutionists. The dispute with Poland over the possession of Teschen nearly involved the new state in difficulties with Poland. More serious was the invasion of Slovakia by the Hungarian Bolshevists under Bela Kun. Here, as in Russia, the Czecho-Slovaks, although themselves for the most part Socialists, proved themselves implacable foes of Bolshevism. The Czecho-Slovaks struck the first blow at Bolshevism in Russia, and it was such a staggering blow that the entire Soviet régime staggered from it. All of Siberia was wrested from the Bolshevists by the Czecho-Slovaks, and they were in 1918 in a position to push on to Moscow and end it all, had only the Allies been ready with a determined policy and effective support. In Europe it was again the Czecho-Slovaks that made a determined stand against the Bolshevists. Some severe fighting was necessary before they succeeded in repelling the Red invaders, but the Czecho-Slovaks were completely successful in preserving the territorial integrity of their new country, and equally successful in combating and resisting the insidious propaganda of the Bolshevists.

Perils within.—There have been some fears expressed that Czechoslovakia might prove a fertile

field for Bolshevist propaganda. There has been indeed a trend towards the Left in the government, the Kramář government having to give place to a more radically socialistic government. But Masaryk has retained firm control of the situation, and the people have an almost child-like faith in his wisdom and leadership. The Czecho-Slovaks are too intensely nationalistic to fall prey to the naïve internationalism of Lenine. Furthermore the attacks made by the Bolshevists upon the Czecho-Slovak army in Siberia and upon Slovakia have definitely fixed in the minds of the people the idea that Bolshevism is a national peril.

Settling down.—As a result, in no section of central Europe is there greater stability or greater promise of a speedy return to normal conditions after the upheaval of the war than in the new Czecho-Slovak Republic. To be sure, the country is suffering with the rest of Europe from the lack of certain essential foodstuffs, and raw materials for manufacturing. There has been untold suffering on the part of the people, the case of the women and children being particularly pitiful. Slowly but surely, however, conditions are coming back to normal, and the people are settling down to the gigantic tasks which await them. It is a splendid thing for a nation to be master of its own destinies. But it is harder to be one's own master than to be subject to the mastery of someone else. This is especially true in cases where one comes into his masterhood without previous training and experience. But experience is a good teacher, and certainly the Czecho-Slovaks are willing and ambitious scholars.

Present problems: Czechs vs. Slovaks.—Of the many problems which await solution in a new Republic, two are of especial importance and interest to us in this present study. The first is the relation between the Czechs and the Slovaks. As was suggested

above, there is a tendency towards jealousy and misunderstanding between the two nationalities, now bound together in one nation. Undoubtedly this feeling is fomented by the Magyars, who are smarting under the loss of their Slovak provinces, and would like to see the Slovaks separate from the Czechs, so that they may again become their prey. Undoubtedly also there has been some Polish agitation, for there are elements in Poland which would not shed any tears if the strength of their neighbor on the south were diminished by internal strife. These influences, set at work upon the all too suspicious and jealous nature of the Czechs and Slovaks, have given rise to some discord, which is even reflected in this country in the relations between the Czechs and Slovaks, and which must always be borne in mind in one's dealing with them. The jealousy between the two is perhaps more active than that existing between the English and the Scotch, but not yet as dangerous as that which divides Ireland into two camps. One would be sure to hear mutterings from a Slovak audience if the Czech national anthem "Kde Domov Muj" (O! Homeland Mine) were played and the Slovak anthem "Hej Slovane" (Ho! Slavonians) were omitted. It is a feeling which only time and continued patient cooperative effort to build a great nation will eradicate.

Church and state.—The other peculiar problem of the new state which interests us here is that of the relation of Church and State, and the place of organized Christianity in the new Republic. This is discussed below in connection with the study of the religious backgrounds of the Czecho-Slovaks.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Under the old régime.—Much might be recorded of the economic and social conditions prevailing in the Czechoslovakia of today. It must be remem-

bered, however, that in this study we are particularly interested in the background of those Czecho-Slovaks who have come to our shores to make their home with us. And our American Czecho-Slovaks have not come to us from an independent Czecho-Slovak Republic, but from Austria and Hungary. Their traditions, schooling, ideals, standards of work and life, religious affiliations and prejudices were secured under the old pre-war régime. Thank God, the old régime is ended, but its influence is still potent in the lives of those who were brought up under it, and its effect is to be seen even in those who have emigrated to far away America. The iniquity visited upon the fathers is felt by the children even unto the third and fourth generation.

The peasantry.—Of the Czechs now residing in this country doubtless a majority is of peasant stock. The term "peasant" is so often misunderstood here in America, that it is well perhaps to explain just what is implied thereby. Referring to the Slavic peasant, Miss Balch writes most truly: "A peasant is something quite distinct from anything that we know in America. On the one hand, he is a link in a chain of family inheritance and tradition that may run back for centuries, with a name, a posterity, and a reputation. On the other hand, he is confessedly and consciously an inferior. It is a part of his world that there should be a God in heaven, and masters (Herrenschaften, Pani) on the earth."[1] The revolution of 1848 supposedly put an end to all serfdom, but traces of the old order still remained. The peasants could and did own their own farms, but the regions where Czech land owners were to be found were chiefly off in the hills where the soil is thin and rocky, and the regions from which our immigrants originally came are almost invariably the poorest in natural resources. The great fertile plains of Bo-

[1] Emily G. Balch "Our Slavic Fellow-Citizens," p. 42.

hemia were taken up by the great estates of the Schwarzenburgs, Lichtensteins and other Austrian noblemen, and those were either rented out to the Czech peasants or worked by them as farm laborers. If one saw a large fertile field he could rest assured that it was the property of the nobility. The farms of the Czechs consisted of long narrow strips of land spread out over the hillsides, presenting an appearance not unlike a patch-work quilt.

Three classes of peasants.—It was possible in Bohemia under the old régime to distinguish three classes of peasants. First, there was the "sedlák" or farmer, who was the owner of a farm of from twenty-five to a hundred acres and a nice "statek," or farmhouse. Then there was the "chalupník" or cottager, who owned a small cottage, and from five to twenty-five acres of land. Peasants of this class made but a scanty living from their little farm, and were apt to eke it out by hiring themselves out as day-laborers or farm-hands, or by carrying on some form of industry in the home during the winter months. The third class is made up of "nadeníci" or day-laborers, who owned no land at all, but generally lived in a tiny cottage on the farm of the "sedlák" or on the great estate of the nobleman, receiving their rent as part of their wages. These people were miserably poor and lived a hand-to-mouth existence.

Czech cottagers.—The immigrants to America were largely from the second class. The "sedlák" was too comfortably fixed to want to leave his home land, while the day laborer was too poor even to think of emigrating. But the cottager was in a position where it was very difficult for him to make a decent living, while at the same time he was in possession of some property which could be sold or given in security in order to raise the money necessary for the journey. These cottagers were steady,

solid folk, possessed of at least a common school education, and with an uncanny ability to make crops grow where an American would not dream even of attempting it. Those who left for America did so because they were anxious to forge ahead. This opportunity was denied them in Austria, and they came here to find it.

Industrial workers.—There is also a considerable percentage of our Czech immigrants who came to us with at least some industrial experience back of them. True, there was comparatively little emigration from the great industrial centres that sprang up in Bohemia in the last half of the Nineteenth Century. But throughout the country-side there were small industries and factories, which employed the country boys for a time, but which gave them neither the wages nor the opportunity for advancement to make them satisfied to remain there. Many of these men and women found their way to America. For example, near Kutna Hora there was a large government cigar factory. Back in the seventies there was a strike, and some people from that section emigrated to New York. There they found work immediately at their old trade. They wrote to their friends, and the result was a great influx of Czechs from the region of Kutna Hora to New York. A large proportion of the Czech population of New York to-day hails from Kutna Hora, and their principal trade is cigar making. But, generally speaking, the Czechs who have come to America were country-born and country-raised, with all the assets and liabilities that a rural up-bringing in this country involves, and some that are peculiarly their own.

The home of the Slovaks.—Among the Slovaks, economic conditions were deplorable under Magyar rule. That part of Hungary populated by the Slovaks, now known as Slovakia (Slovensko) is romantically beautiful. To the north rise the snow-

capped peaks of the high Tatra of the Carpathians, and it is in the foothills of these mountains, with their jagged cliffs and swift rushing streams, that the Slovak finds his home. Ruins of Tartar castles perched on the hilltops add picturesqueness to the landscape. As one journeys south and comes down upon the broad fertile plains of the Danube, he finds the Slovak element giving way before the Magyars. This enterprising, dominating race had, upon its incursion into central Europe, pushed the slow, passive Slovak off into the hills and there for generations he has been seeking to make bread out of stones.

No Slovak cities.—Slovakia is rich in mineral resources, but has been little developed under Magyar rule. Few industries were developed, and as a result no cities sprang up. The largest cities of Slovakia, Bratislav (formerly Pressburg) on the west and Kosice on the east, are well down on the plain and were pretty thoroughly Magyarized under the old régime.

Living from hand to mouth.—The Slovak was therefore forced to make his living as best he could from the land. The natural difficulties in the way of agricultural development were greater in the most favorable parts of Slovakia than they were in the poorest sections of Bohemia and Moravia. As a result the Slovak peasants were miserably poor. It was rare indeed to find even a moderately well-to-do Slovak farmer. The lucrative trades were mostly in the hands of Magyars or unscrupulous Jews, who played one nationality over against another. The Slovak farmer nearly always had to eke out a living in some other way. Many engaged in the humbler trades, such as shoe-making and blacksmithing. Some were lumberjacks, engaged in hewing timber from the mountain forests. Others engaged in the dangerous trade of rafting the timber down the riv-

ers to the Danube. The itinerant Slovak tinkers, wire workers and glaziers were to be found all over Austria and Hungary. Many emigrated to distant sections of the Empire for seasonal occupations, returning home during the off season. Many of the large estates in Bohemia and some in Germany were farmed by Slovaks during the summer. One could see them lying on the ground during the noon hour, their costumes at once differentiating them from their fellow workers. One could hear them of an evening singing their beautiful folk songs. Economically the Slovak was almost entirely dispossessed under Magyar rule. It is small wonder therefore that he looked upon America as a land of golden opportunity, and hastened to make his way thither when the door opened.

Standard of living.—With the Czech cottager and the Slovak the standard of living was low; very low in comparison with the lowest stratum of society in this country, but not so low as that prevailing among the poorer peasants of Croatia or Russia. His cottage was indeed lowly, generally consisting of two parts, in one of which the livestock and farm implements were housed, in the other the family. As but a narrow passageway separated the two compartments, the livestock was apt to make itself very much at home in the living compartments. The living compartment often consisted of one room; seldom of more than two. In these cramped quarters, restricted still further by the enormous bricked-in oven which served as cookstove and furnace, and in some cases by a loom for weaving carpets or some other machinery for home industry, the family (and it was likely to be a large one) slept, ate, lived, moved and had its being. Sometimes there was a flooring of boards or of bricks; quite often the floor was earthen. Every available inch of room was used. Two beds, which in the day time were piled

high with red and white feather beds used as covering at night, provided a resting place for all the members of the family. Or, if that meant overcrowding, a hammock was slung over the top of one for the latest arrival in the family, while the oldest boy was given the privilege of making his couch on the big, wide shelf always found up above the ovens, a spot, by the way, much to be desired for sleeping purposes, as it was always cozy and warm. A visitor might find a hen calmly sitting upon that shelf during the day, or a pig trotting around on the dirt floor.

Housing.—Many of the cottages, however, were most neatly kept, and presented a most attractive appearance inside and out. A thatched roof, capping a freshly white-washed stone structure, with a bit of red and blue decoration over the lintel; within, a little border of Slavonic design around the tops of the walls, religious or patriotic pictures on the walls, home-made tables and chairs of unique and characteristic design, gaily colored pillows mounting to the ceiling—such a home was a delight to visit, particularly if one were invited to partake of coffee and *koláce* prepared by the housewife. Living conditions ranged from the utmost squalor imaginable, to clean and wholesome, if not commodious, quarters.

Fare.—The fare was very simple. The very poor rarely tasted meat. With the Slovaks and the poorer Czechs, potatoes and cabbage formed the staple diet. Meat was a treat reserved for Sundays and holidays with most families. Breakfast, coffee and rolls; dinner, potatoes and cabbage or a cabbage soup; supper, coffee and rolls, with perhaps some cereal. Such was the daily menu in many a home from which our immigrants came. It was a red-letter day when the family could sit down to the regular national dinner of roast goose, dumplings and sauerkraut.

Village life.—The farm as we know it here is for-

eign to European rural life. It is the universal rule that the peasants live in villages or towns, and go back and forth to the fields which surround the village every day. As these villages often consist of nothing more than one long street, with the cottages closely adjoining each other, a community consciousness is developed rarely to be found in American towns, and never in the farming regions. They share in the social life of the village. Everyone knows everyone else, and takes a profound interest in the minutest details of their neighbor's life. The village church, tavern and market-place function like the New England town meetings. The women go down to the village brook to do their washing or to draw water. The boys and girls pasture their fathers' geese on the same field. Need we ask why the Czechs and Slovaks coming to this country like to establish colonies of their own, where they are thrown together in one compact community, and are loath to go upon the farms with their attendant isolation and loneliness?

Education.—There is a sharp contrast between the cultural life of the Czechs and the Slovaks. This is due in a large measure to the superiority of the educational advantages of the Czechs as against the Slovaks. We find a surprisingly small amount of illiteracy among the Czechs, about two per cent; whereas with the Slovaks about forty per cent cannot read and write their own language. The school system of the Czechs even under the Austrian régime was admirable, and to this fact first of all must be attributed the cultural advancement of the nation.

Czech culture.—Furthermore literature, art and music have been greatly stimulated among the Czechs through identification with the nationalistic program. The attempt to thrust German Kultur upon the Czech nation had the effect of making of every distinctively Czech litterateur or artist a patriot.

Those most closely associated with the Czech nationalistic movement of the Nineteenth Century, Palácký, Jungmann, Havlicek, and even Masaryk himself, were literary men, historians, poets, essayists and publicists. In the realm of music Smetana, Dvořák, Kubelík, Destinn and Burian have given great impetus to the nationalistic movement through their art. The production of the great Czech operas at the National Theatre in Prague was always the occasion for great patriotic demonstrations. In the same way Uprka, the painter, was idolized by the people not only for his art in itself, but fully as much because his art was distinctively Slavonic, and constituted an invaluable aid to the nationalistic propaganda. As a result, every good Czech is not only a lover of art for art's sake, but for the country's sake as well. The humblest Czech is astonishingly well informed as to his own country's history and culture, while those who have had any higher education are thoroughly acquainted with the literature and art of the nations of western Europe as well. Their love of music is proverbial, and it is an exception indeed to find a Czech who does not command the use of at least one musical instrument.

Slovak culture.—The Slovaks are more backward culturally, owing to their lack of educational facilities. Their literature and art has been identified with the nationalist movement, and with the suppression of the latter by the Magyar authorities, Slovak writings have been under the ban. Much of the cultural life had to be built up abroad in Bohemia or in America or carried on in semi-secrecy at home. Their cultural tastes find natural as contrasted with artificial expression. The Slovak folksongs are exquisite. There are literally thousands of them, many of which have never been written down, but live on among the people from generation to generation. They constitute, however, a

great contribution to the world of art. The artistic sense of the Slovaks is also displayed in their national costumes, which are still worn in most places in Slovakia; in the simple yet truly artistic mural decorations of their cottages, and in the embroideries which the peasant women turn out during the long winter evenings. With the development of education in Slovakia we may with assurance look for as rapid and brilliant progress along cultural lines as has been witnessed among the Czechs.

Morals.—The moral standards of the Czechs are unusually high. Family life is well safe-guarded. Although a great beer-drinking people, drunkeness is a rare occurrence. Their sense of the inviolable distinction between "mine" and "thine" is not as fine as it might be, and their criminal records both at home and in this country show that their wrong doing takes the form of crimes against property rather than that of crimes against person. Among the Slovaks, immorality and intemperance, the sure accompaniments of ignorance, are prevalent. The Slovak peasant's fondness for *palenka* is proverbial. Lack of education has given the animal in him free rein. But even then his conduct is unmoral rather than immoral. Prostitution as an organized vice has not spread widely.

Family life.—Families are large, a child a year being the rule with many. The burden of constant child-bearing, added to that of hard physical labor in the home and in the field, results in premature old age for many women. The children are brought up most strictly, and are put to work as soon as they are able to lead the oxen or tend the geese. The Czecho-Slovak children have very little time for play as we know it in this country.

Community Life.—Both Czechs and Slovaks are extremely sociable, and find expression for their social instincts in the family and village life. There

is a distinct village consciousness, which is fostered by the church holidays of the village patron saint, by pilgrimages upon which the entire village sets out *en masse,* and by the distinctive dress of each village in those sections where the old native costume is still worn. Psychologically the Czechs and Slovaks fall in naturally with the foreign-colony idea in America.

Patriotism.—Undoubtedly, the strongest passion of each Czech and Slovak is his love of country. In few other countries is patriotism so fervent, so passionate, so self-sacrificing. The Czecho-Slovak imbibes patriotic feeling with his mother's milk, and to his dying day it remains the greatest single interest of his life. To this fact is due the extraordinary success of the revolutionary movement. Such a spirit was not to be quenched; such a faith was not to be broken; such a resolve was not to be frustrated.

Narrow nationalism.—This fervid patriotism carries with it the danger of becoming a narrow nationalism. One of the great lessons that the Czecho-Slovaks must learn, now that they have achieved independence, is to live with their neighbors in peace, and work with them in cooperation. The future of the Czecho-Slovak State will depend largely upon their ability to establish friendly cooperative international relationships with the Poles, and even with the Germans and Magyars. They share the universal Slavic tendency towards national jealousies and racial prejudices. However well founded these prejudices may be, it is clear that some basis of cooperation with neighboring states must be found, if peace and order are to prevail.

The language question.—The crucial point in all the racial antagonisms of the Czechs and Slovaks has been the language question. Austria tried to force German upon the Czechs; and Hungary sought to force the Slovaks to speak only the Magyar tongue.

Now that the positions are reversed we should not be surprised to find some reprisals in the compulsory use of the language. The new state includes many German and Hungarian speaking peoples, but to the credit of President Masaryk and his followers be it recorded that the policy so far adopted towards these language minorities has been much more liberal than one might expect. While seeking to regain the people who had been Germanized or Magyarized under the Austro-Hungarian rule, there seems to be no tendency towards forcible "Czechification," or "Slovakification," of the German and Magyar populations. Practically all Czechs speak German and every educated Slovak speaks Hungarian. In addition, a third language, French; or, less commonly, English, is learned in the secondary schools. It is to be hoped that the lifting of the necessity for learning German and Hungarian will not lead the Czecho-Slovaks to abandon the study of the languages; for their international relationships as well as commercial interests will require the use of a common language. English undoubtedly will come increasingly into usage as new contacts with England and America are established. At present, the cultural as well as political ties of the new Republic are closer with France than with the Anglo-Saxon countries. There is a strong desire, however, on the part of President Masaryk to cultivate a close relationship with America, and if this is effected, it will undoubtedly have considerable bearing upon the future development of the Czecho-Slovak colonies in this country.

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

Historical background: Cyril and Methodius.— The religious history of the Czecho-Slovaks is most interesting. Christianity was first introduced among

them by two Slavonic missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, in the ninth century. They came up from Salonica and were under the influence of the Eastern Wing of the church. The result of this early influence from the East is to be seen even after the people came under the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church. The people were never fully possessed of the Roman idea as were the Poles for example. They still retained their adherence to the Slavonic liturgy, and to other more democratic forms of religious expression than those prescribed by Rome.

Jan Hus.—The people were quite Protestant in spirit even before the advent of Jan Hus. By this time the people were quite convinced that Roman Catholicism and Germanism were proceeding hand in hand, and this heightened their suspicion of Romanism and prepared the ground for the Hussite movement. Jan Hus is regarded by the Czechs and Slovaks not only as a great reformer, but as an outstanding national hero. To their minds, his resistance to the encroachments of German culture, and his contributions to Czech literature and language constitute even superior claims of greatness to his work as a reformer. His martyrdom in 1415 was the signal for open revolt against Rome on the one hand and the Teutons on the other.

The Hussite Wars.—Bohemia became Protestant almost over night, and in the Hussite Wars, the entire nation fought with truly religious fervor against what they considered to be a blow at their faith. Within the nation two parties arose, both bitterly opposed to Rome, but different from each other. One party, called the Calixtines, following Hus, remained true to the tenets of the Catholic faith, but insisted upon reform on two main points, namely, the acknowledgement of the right of the laity to receive communion in both kinds, and the principle of the open Bible. The other party, called

the Taborites, and later the Bohemian Brethren, was more radically Protestant and stood for the universal priesthood of believers, and the abolition of the Catholic hierarchy and traditions. Theirs was a simple but passionate faith, much more thorough-going in its Protestantism than Luther, who was to follow one hundred years after.

Collapse of Protestantism.—As long as these two parties made common cause of their opposition to Romanism, the Hussites were successful in repelling all invasions of crusaders despatched by the Holy Church to wipe out heresy in Bohemia. The story of this heroic fight is one of the most glorious chapters in the annals of religious history. In 1434, however, jealousy arose between the two camps, culminating in the outbreak of civil strife between them and the utter defeat of the Taborites at the hands of the Calixtines at the battle of Lipany. This unfortunate turn in events naturally led to compromise by the Calixtines with the Romanists, with an accompanying loss of the complete political and religious freedom for which the Hussites had so nobly fought. Lipany marked the end of the Taborite movement, although their extreme Protestant principles were taken up and advanced by the Bohemian Brethren under the leadership of the noted Komensky (Comenius) and Chelčicky. The next two hundred years saw Rome and the Teutons gradually gaining the ascendancy in Bohemia, until finally, in 1621, as a part of the Thirty Years' War, the Teutons established their political control absolutely, and with it the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church.

Religious persecutions.—In the following years there followed one of the most thorough-going persecutions in the annals of religious history. Rome was determined to root out the Protestant heresy from Bohemia. Bloodshed, confiscation and banish-

ment were the weapons used. It is estimated that some 36,000 Protestant families chose exile rather than submit to a return to Romanism. Most of these families emigrated to Germany and there became the founders of that great missionary body known as the Moravian Brethren. But in Bohemia itself Protestantism was completely wiped out. Bibles and other religious books were burned by the thousand, the property of Protestants was confiscated, no church gatherings were permitted. Thus was the Czech nation restored to the fold of the Mother Church!

Rebirth of Protestant churches.—Although there was no toleration for Protestants at all under the Hapsburgs until 1792, many former Protestants, and their children and grandchildren after them, maintained their meetings in the caves of the hills and the groves of the forests. The stories told of the faithfulness of the Protestants of this period in the face of persecution and danger constitute a bright page in the history of religious martyrdom. When toleration was finally decreed some 90,000 people immediately announced their allegiance to the Protestant Church. Only three denominations were included in the toleration act, the Lutheran, Reformed and the Bohemian Brethren, and all of these churches were surrounded with harassing restrictions and regulations, calculated to impede their growth.

Restrictions.—Much of the work of rebuilding the Protestant Church in Bohemia was done by Reformed pastors from Hungary, who rendered a truly brotherly service to their neighboring co-religionists. During the Nineteenth Century the strictures against the Protestant churches in Austria were gradually moderated. But to the very last the churches were supported and therefore controlled by the State. The pastors were compelled to act as registrars of vital

statistics for the government. One of the functions of the pastor was to teach religion to Protestant children in the public schools. Missionary activities were forbidden, and therefore it was impossible for the churches to gain in strength. Catholics were given the preference for government positions, and in bureaucratic Austria this involved the control over thousands of positions. More serious than this was the effect upon the spirit of the churches themselves.

Weaknesses.—All children were, when born, registered as belonging either to the Catholic Church or one of the Protestant bodies. Church membership therefore became largely a formal matter, with little emphasis upon conversion or religious conviction. The churches, having a fence drawn around them limiting their growth, tended to lose in missionary zeal and enthusiasm and to become more or less formalistic. It is nearly universally true that Protestant churches in Catholic countries are weak and tend to take on some of the objectionable features of the predominating religion. The Protestant churches in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia were certainly open to this criticism before the war.

Religious affiliations.—At the outbreak of the war the Czechs were divided as follows religiously: Roman Catholics 96 per cent, Protestants 2 per cent, Jews 2 per cent. The Protestants were mainly adherents of the two recognized denominations, the Reformed and the Lutheran; with smaller representations in the Bohemian Brethren Church, in the Free Reformed Church, the mission church of the American Board and in the Baptist missions. The three native churches maintained some seventy churches and missions with a combined membership of 125,000, while the American Board had thirty mission stations ministered to by two American and twenty-seven native missionaries. The Baptists concen-

trated particularly on work among the Slovaks, though a few stations were maintained among the Czechs.

Status of Protestant church.—Of these churches, the Reformed Church was the strongest and the natural heir and conserver of the old Hussite traditions. The Lutheran churches never entirely avoided the taint of pro-Germanism, while the mission work of the American Board, though valuable as far as it went, was foreign in spirit and method, and unfortunately divisive in effect. Handicapped as they were by outward conditions and inner limitations, these churches were powerless to exercise any far-reaching influence upon the nation, naturally Protestant in its historical traditions as it was. All of the leaders seemed to be waiting for a miracle from heaven which would open the doors of opportunity to them. The miracle has happened with the establishment of an independent state free from Roman Catholic control, and it remains to be seen now whether Protestantism in the new Republic will be equal to its opportunity.

Religious development of Slovaks.—In Slovakia, the development of the church life has followed along somewhat similar lines to that in Bohemia, save that in the Reformation period Protestantism gained a larger hold upon the Slovaks than upon the Czechs, due probably to the fact that the latter bore the brunt of the anti-reformation and to an extent shielded the Slovaks from the ravages of the Romanist persecutors. The advance of Protestantism in Hungary also was reflected in conditions among the Slovaks. The Kingdom of Hungary was never so closely identified with Rome as was the Austrian Empire, so that the Protestant churches in Slovakia had greater opportunity to establish themselves. About 70 per cent of the Slovaks are Catholics; five per cent are Greek Catholic and the remainder Prot-

estants. Among the Protestants the Lutheran Church is much the strongest in point of numbers, the Reformed being quite weak. The Lutheran Church in Slovakia was open to the same criticism as the Protestant Churches in Bohemia, namely that of formalism and ritualism, and in its practical effect upon the lives of the people and society as a whole was not much of an improvement over the Roman Catholic Church.

The Czechs and religion.—The different religious history of the two nationalities, together with the divergence in character and temperament, has resulted in a widely differing reaction towards the whole question of religion. Anyone who is seeking to reach these nationalities religiously must constantly bear in mind that the Czech offers an entirely different set of problems from the Slovak. The Czech is essentially a rationalist. His study of the history of his people (and every Czech knows his Czech history to perfection) leads him to the conclusion that Romanism has been one of the great foes to his people. He can never forget that the most glorious period in his country's history was that immediately following Hus, when the break with Rome was complete. Nor can he fail to remember that the darkest period of Czech history was that introduced by the Anti-Reformation and characterized by the complete dominance of Roman Catholicism. To the thinking Czech, Romanism means reaction, absolutism, ritualism, formalism. And in proportion as his national consciousness has grown in vividness, so has his hatred of Rome and all her works.

Rationalism.—This is the underlying cause of the vigorous free-thinking movement which has gained such headway among them, as well as for the widespread *Los von Rom* Movement which has gone on apace since the revolution. With Rome, the average Czech has discarded all respect for organized re-

ligion in any form. Protestantism he regards as but a milder and less objectionable form of an institution which is essentially medieval, reactionary and unnecessary. To be sure many still retain an ill-defined regard for religion, and were there to be a well organized and wisely prosecuted program for the reestablishment of the Hussite faith in the new republic, undoubtedly many adherents would be found among former Roman Catholics and free thinkers.

Reform movement in Catholic Church.—Roman Catholicism still retains its hold upon the country districts, and upon the middle classes in the cities. But the workingman trained in socialism on the one hand, and the intellectuals trained in national feeling on the other, have definitely turned their backs upon Rome, and in the realignment of religious matters in the new Republic, Rome has suffered a great loss. The spirit of revolt against Rome has even spread to the Catholic priests themselves. A large section of the Catholic clergy, called the reformist group, immediately after the Revolution joined in insisting upon a number of reforms, chief of which are voluntary celibacy of the clergy, introduction of the Czech language in the services, and a greater degree of democracy in church government. Their insistence brought down upon their heads the wrath of Rome, and the result was that in January, 1920, some one hundred and fifty priests renounced Roman Catholicism and founded a new church which is called the Czecho-Slovak Church. This church already has enlisted over 800,000 members of the two million Czechs that have left Rome.

The movement away from Rome, though undoubtedly inaugurated from nationalistic motives, has assumed the character of a great religious revival. Whole towns and villages are deserting their old faith, and eagerly seeking a new expression for their religious faith. Religion has become one of the

most absorbing topics of the day, and it seems as if we were to witness the amazing spectacle of an entire nation changing its faith and returning to its ancient Protestant adherence.

Protestant churches unite.—While schisms have been occurring in the Roman Catholic Church, the various Protestant bodies have been drawing closer together. Of great significance is the organic union of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches under the name of the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren. This great step towards church union arouses hopes of seeing Protestantism presenting a united front throughout the Republic. But the Protestant churches are facing grave problems, as well as golden opportunities.

Church and state.—The new constitution of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, adopted February 29, 1920, provides for complete separation of church and state. Complete freedom of conscience is guaranteed, but religious organizations are placed on the same basis as any other private organizations in respect to property owning and taxation. This revolutionary procedure when put into effect will compel all churches to make thorough-going readjustments as to the organization, financing and administration of their work. Although the Roman Catholic Church will undoubtedly be the greatest sufferer by this law, the Protestant churches will also be hard put to it to maintain their organization and carry on the enlarged program which the opportunities of the present demand. The transformation from a government-endowed institution to a self-supporting one is not easy, however healthy it may be.

Inner weakness.—More serious, however, than these outward conditions are the inner difficulties involved in lack of vision, courage and missionary zeal. The leaders seem to be dazed by the sudden turn in events which has placed before them the greatest

opportunity that Protestantism has had in those lands in five hundred years. The people were poorly prepared for the change. The war had broken their morale and fighting spirit, and many expected that freedom would bring a religious revival upon the land without any great effort upon their part.

Need of help.—In this time of crisis the Protestant churches of the world should rally to the support of their brethren in Czechoslovakia promptly and generously. There are neither church buildings nor preachers sufficient for the great crowds which are now clamoring for the gospel and seeking affiliation with the Protestant Church. The officials of the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren report twenty places where a new congregation numbering five hundred or more has been formed with no church buildings to accommodate them. In the Pilsen district there have been 15,000 accessions to the Protestant Church, and there are but two churches and two pastors in the district. In the Žizkov section of Prague there are now 6000 members of the Protestant Church, but the church auditorium seats but 250. New church buildings are urgently needed but ministers and evangelists are needed even more urgently. Here is an opportunity for the American Churches to aid the cause of Protestantism. We have over 80 Czech-speaking Protestant ministers in this country. If we could loan some of them to Czechoslovakia in the present crisis, they could render an invaluable service and we in America could thereby repay part of the religious debt that we owe to the land of Hus. And it is to be hoped that when denominational representatives are sent from America and other lands they will seek to help the local church which is on the ground instead of seeking to establish a branch of their own denomination. Only a united Bohemian Brethren Church with a broad liberal policy, aggressive evangelism and a sympathetic program of serv-

ice can bring the Czecho-Slovaks back to the religion of Hus.

Aid from America.—The Protestant churches among the Czecho-Slovaks in America have been most liberal in their help to their brethren overseas. Large sums of money have been sent to the relief of the widows and orphans of Protestants there. Several of the best Czecho-Slovak ministers of America are now in Europe helping the churches there to see their task and to accomplish it. No better tribute could be made to the churches here than this evidence of their deep interest in the cause of Christ in the land of their fathers.

Summary.—To summarize, religion has a most important place in the heritage of both the Czechs and Slovaks who come to our shores. The Czech has Protestant traditions which have been stifled by Catholicism resulting in a reaction against Rome which very often includes all forms of religion and makes of him a professing atheist. The Czech professes to scorn religion, but is glad to discuss the question on a historical basis. Christianity must be reinterpreted to him, and incarnated before his eyes in the life of someone in whom he believes before he will accept it. The Slovaks are more religiously inclined. They like ritualism and formalism and are easily led into superstition. They are very little prone to atheism or rationalism. But they are conservative to the last degree, very often obstinately so. Tradition is treated with respect by the Slovaks. They are likewise more subject to emotional appeals. In this country the Slovaks are much more disposed to retain their old country faith and form of worship than the Czechs, who either break away from the church altogether, or seek a new alignment.

Emigration

HISTORY AND EXTENT

Immigration new and old.—It is common to date the beginning of the so-called "New Immigration" to America from the year 1882. If that line of demarcation be followed precisely, we should have to classify the Czech immigrants among the "old immigrants," instead of among the "new." For, as early as 1848 we have a considerable influx of Czechs into this country.

Early Czech immigrants.—Indeed, long before that date we hear of Czechs playing no inconsiderable part in America's affairs. Johannes Amos Comenius (Jan Amos Komensky), the great Czech educator, writer and religious leader, was invited to come to Harvard University in the early part of the Seventeenth Century, but was unable to accept. However, some of his compatriots did find their way to America in early colonial times, and assumed positions here of no small prominence. Foremost among them were Augustine Herman and Bedřich Filip (Frederick Phillips). The former was an associate of Lord Baltimore in Maryland, while the latter was described as the "Bohemian Merchant Prince" of New Amsterdam. The Moravian Brethren, those great missionaries of early colonial days, were the heirs to the faith of the Bohemian Brethren, although their enforced exile into Germany had almost resulted in their complete Germanization.

Later immigration.—But Czech immigration, properly speaking, did not begin until after the year 1848. There were stirring times that year in Austria, and such was the part played by the Czechs in the revolutionary propaganda that many of them were compelled to flee to escape the wrath of the Austrian government. Many more were induced to

try their fortunes across the sea, on the one hand by the allurements of the California gold fields and on the other by the sheer pressure of economic want. The abolition of the last vestiges of serfdom in Austria at this time gave to the peasants their first taste of personal liberty. They were not slow to take advantage of it, and to leave behind them Austria with her chains of great estates, with her heavy burden of taxation upon small landowners, and her cunningly contrived system of oppression through economic pressure and autocratic officialdom.

Czech immigration statistics.—In 1870 when the American census first gives figures as to Czech immigration it is estimated that there were already 40,000 Czechs in the United States, which would mean an average immigration of 2000 a year from 1850. The decade 1870-1880 added 45,000, 1880-1890 approximately 33,000, 1890-1900, 38,000 and 1900-1910 almost 98,000. The annual immigration since 1910 has been as follows: 1911—9,223; 1912—8,439; 1913—11,091; 1914—9,928; 1915—1,651; 1916—642; 1917—327; 1918—74; 1919—105. The largest immigration in any one year was recorded in 1907 when 13,554 Czechs entered this country. The smallest annual immigration was recorded in 1918. In fact the average annual immigration since the outbreak of the World War has been far below the average since 1850. The normal annual immigration in pre-war times was about 9,500.

Slovak immigration.—The immigration of Slovaks to America began at a much later date than that of the Czechs. There seems to have been some sporadic immigration in the sixties, and an increased volume of it in the seventies, but it was not until the eighties that the movement became very widespread. The Slovaks therefore belong to the new immigration. From that time on the Slovaks, in common with the other national groups of Hungary,

rushed to America in ever increasing numbers. The Slovaks were not distinguished precisely from the other nationalities of Hungary in the records of immigration until the year 1899. Consequently it is most difficult to determine the extent of Slovak immigration prior to 1899. Estimating on the basis of the percentage of Slovak immigration of the total immigration from Hungary since 1899, we may place the Slovak population of the United States in 1880 at 10,000 and the annual immigration after that date to 1899 at 10,000, making a gross immigration of 200,000.

The immigration in subsequent years was as follows:—

1899—	15,838	1910—	32,416
1900—	29,243	1911—	21,415
1901—	29,343	1912—	25,281
1902—	36,934	1913—	27,234
1903—	34,427	1914—	25,819
1904—	27,940	1915—	2,069
1905—	52,367	1916—	577
1906—	38,221	1917—	244
1907—	42,041	1918—	35
1908—	16,170	1919—	85
1909—	22,586	1920—	3,824
		Total.....	484,109

As against this vast volume of immigration one must off-set the unusually extensive return movement among the Slovaks, which will be considered later.

CAUSES

Chiefly economic.—The cause of the emigration of Czechs and Slovaks from their homes to America is, in the main, economic. There have been many instances of political persecution, notably of the Czechs in the days following 1848, and of the Slovaks in the decade preceding the war, and perhaps isolated instances of religious persecution. Some left their homeland to avoid compulsory military service. Others fled to avoid the penalties of their misdeeds. Contrast the economic conditions prevailing in Aus-

tro-Hungary under the old régime, with those prevailing in America, and you have the answer to the question "Why do these people come here?" On the one hand, we have large estates in the hands of noblemen, mostly foreigners, with the peasantry pushed off on to the hilly and rocky sections of the country; a system of taxation which lays an especially heavy burden upon the small land owner; an average wage for an agricultural laborer of twenty-five cents a day, and for an industrial worker of sixty cents. On the other hand, we have a free country, where every man has an opportunity to become the owner of productive property, a country whose wealth of natural resources is not in the hands of any given class, a country where wages are high, and opportunities for progress and prosperity abundant. Migration to America is a step upward and onward, consciously and deliberately taken. These people would have preferred to have stayed at home, could they have taken the forward step there. But since that was impossible, they came to a land where it was possible, for they felt they must go onward. Surely this is no sordid, mercenary spirit! Who can fail to see the nobility of such an ambition and the courage of such a faith!

CHARACTER OF IMMIGRATION

Czechs and Slovaks contrasted.—The emigration of the Slovaks has from the outset been of an entirely different nature from that of the Czechs. Instead of moving with his family to America, with the intention of settling there permanently as has the Czech, the Slovak has looked upon America as a good place to make some money to take back home. Consequently the Slovak often goes alone, leaving his wife and children to follow later, if at all. With the Slovak emigration was a temporary expedient; with the Czech it was a permanent removal. Many

Slovaks have made the trip back and forth across the ocean three or four times in ten years. The Czech seldom returns to the old country, and then only for a visit late in life after he has established himself in American life. Once again we see that these two nationalities present quite different problems.

OUTLOOK OF FUTURE IMMIGRATION

Immigration legislation decisive.—The world war automatically put a stop to all emigration from Europe to America. Since the cessation of hostilities, there has been much debate as to the future of the emigration to America. As far as the United States is concerned, the crux of the matter at present lies in the immigration legislation. There is no doubt but that there would immediately be an unprecedented influx of immigrants to the United States were the stringent bans upon immigration relaxed. All European peoples regard America as an Eldorado, and with Europe in a state of demoralization and ruin, it takes no prophet to forecast the future of emigration if it is left unchecked. Never was there a greater need for wisdom and astuteness on the part of those framing our immigration legislation than at the present time.

Immediate program.—In any event, there is enough work for all of us who are interested in the unification of our nation's life. Even if immigration should be entirely cut off, we have enough foreigners with us already to keep us working up to the limit of our strength to interpret America to them and them to America. And let us hope that if there is to be any additional immigration on a large scale the country will mobilize its resources to care for them more adequately than in the past. We are paying now for the neglect and ill treatment of by-gone days.

Chapter II

THE IMMIGRANT IN AMERICA

Part I: Immigration

DISTRIBUTION AND LOCATION

Czechs on the farms.—As has been pointed out, the Czech immigrants to the United States were, for the most part, agriculturists at home. And, unlike some other peoples who also come from rural backgrounds, the Czechs from the beginning sought out the rich farming regions of our country and settled there. Thus in the early fifties Czech farmers were to be found in Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska and Texas, where they took out homestead rights and did the pioneer work of clearing and breaking the land. Today much of the richest farm land in these states and others is owned by Czechs.

Czechs in cities.—At the same time that this early settlement of farms was going on, many Czechs were settling in the cities, notably in Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, New York, Omaha and Baltimore, to throw in their lot with the rapidly growing army of industrial workers of those places. Today the Czech colonies of those cities have assumed vast proportions. Chicago, with 110,000 Czechs, ranks as the third largest Czech city in the world, being surpassed only by Prague and Vienna.

Census statistics.—There are no accurate statistics available which would show satisfactorily the number of Czecho-Slovaks in the United States and their

location. The census statistics are being improved with each decade, and are still the only reliable basis upon which to proceed. In general, it may be said that census statistics understate the case, while unofficial figures, especially those given by Czecho-Slovaks themselves, overstate it. Probably if we add 50 percent to the figures given by the census of 1910 for "foreign white stock of Bohemian and Moravian mother tongue," we should approximate the true figures for 1920, allowing for the increase of ten years, and for the inadequacy of the census figures. The 1910 census records the foreign white stock of Bohemian and Moravian lineage as 539,392, of whom 228,738 are foreign-born (first generation foreigner) and 310,654 native white of foreign or mixed parentage (second generation foreigners).

The Census reports the distribution of these Czechs as follows:—

Illinois	124,225	North Dakota	7,287
Nebraska	50,680	New Jersey	6,656
Ohio	50,004	Oklahoma	5,633
New York	47,400	Tennessee	176
Wisconsin	45,336	California	3,707
Texas	41,080	Massachusetts	3,010
Minnesota	33,247	Washington	2,984
Iowa	32,050	Colorado	2,903
Pennsylvania	13,945	Connecticut	2,693
Missouri	13,928	Indiana	2,126
Kansas	11,603	Oregon	1,709
Michigan	10,130	Montana	1,653
South Dakota	9,943	Virginia	1,059
Maryland	9,199	Arkansas	778
Idaho	663	Wyoming	671
West Virginia	535	Delaware	121
Rhode Island	346	Arizona	97
Kentucky	305	Nevada	84
Utah	268	South Carolina	71
Alabama	184	Mississippi	61
Florida	92	New Hampshire	44
New Mexico	175	Maine	41
Louisiana	173	North Carolina	16
District of Columbia	135		
Georgia	127	Total	539,392

Estimated Czech Population 1920 808,988
(Fifty per cent added to census)

The above tabulation shows that with the exception of New York and Texas, the bulk of the Czech population of the United States is located in the Middle West. And here there is a greater preponderance of rural population as against urban, showing the tendency of the Czechs to settle upon the land.

According to the census, only ten cities show a Czech population of over 2,000, viz:

Chicago	110,736	Milwaukee	6,370
New York	40,988	Omaha	5,414
Cleveland	39,296	St. Paul	4,140
St. Louis	10,282	Pittsburgh	3,453
Baltimore	7,750	Detroit	2,641

Other cities having a considerable Czech population are Cedar Rapids, St. Paul, South Omaha, Alleghany, Racine, Minneapolis.

Fully half of the Czech population therefore is to be found in small towns or on the farms.

Mr. Thomas Čapek in his admirable book, "The Czech in America," includes a very carefully worked out list of all communities in the United States having more than one hundred people of Czech stock.

Number of Slovaks in America.—Coming along at a later period, and as a part of the general immigration movement, the Slovaks, unlike the Czechs, share with the other "new immigrants" the tendency to concentrate in the cities and industrial centres. The 1910 census reports 284,444 Slovaks in the United States. This number is almost certainly low, as the Slovaks are more easily confused with other nationalities than the Czechs, and the census itself has but comparatively recently recognized them as a distinct group. The fifty per cent addition suggested above bringing the total up to 426,666, would certainly not greatly overstate the case, if at all.

Distribution of Slovaks.—The distribution of the Slovaks by states as recorded by the 1910 census is as follows:—

Pennsylvania	141,657	Texas	320
Ohio	33,102	Arizona	230
New Jersey	23,505	Rhode Island	208
Illinois	20,915	New Mexico	190
New York	22,847	Kentucky	185
Connecticut	10,156	Oklahoma	183
Wisconsin	4,808	South Dakota	162
Indiana	3,248	Nebraska	143
West Virginia	3,153	Vermont	139
Michigan	2,893	Louisiana	127
Minnesota	2,740	North Dakota	125
Missouri	1,811	Oregon	121
Colorado	1,618	Delaware	74
Massachusetts	1,444	Idaho	72
Washington	1,292	Mississippi	62
Iowa	1,223	Tennessee	56
Montana	1,104	Georgia	38
Maryland	673	Utah	36
California	659	Dis. of Columbia	20
Maine	609	North Carolina	19
Kansas	597	New Hampshire	16
Arkansas	507	Nevada	13
Wyoming	504	Florida	7
Virginia	486	South Carolina	5
Alabama	352		
		Total	284,444

Slovak city colonies.—Of the cities having more than 100,000 inhabitants only six show a colony of 2,000 or more Slovaks, viz.:

Chicago	13,093	Bridgeport	6,188
Cleveland	12,977	Pittsburgh	5,096
New York	10,504	Newark, N. J.	2,493

The following commentary upon the above table of distribution will speak volumes concerning the nature of the Slovak immigration, and the causes of their existing location in the United States:

Reasons for distribution economic.—Of the 141,657 Slovaks in Pennsylvania, the vast majority are in the Pittsburgh steel district, the Connellsville coke region and the anthracite coal section of eastern Pennsylvania. The steel town of Youngstown, the rubber town of Akron, and the manufacturing centre of Cleveland hold most of the 33,102 Slovaks of Ohio.

The factories and mills of northern New Jersey attract the Slovaks there, while cigar making lures them to New York, the stock yards to Chicago, the munition plants to Connecticut, the automobile industry and the iron mines to Wisconsin and Michigan, and the coal mines to West Virginia. The Slovak is essentially the industrial worker, and he is to be found wherever there is rough, hard work to be done. Very few are engaged in agriculture. In Virginia there are some, and also in Texas, while in Connecticut a few are engaged in truck farming with the Poles.

MIGRATION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES

Czech population stable.—The Czech population in the United States may be said to be as stable and stationary as any other element. The Czechs of course share with other Americans the drift to the cities, but nowhere is it a marked characteristic of the Czechs. In fact, the children of Czech farmers are showing a commendable disposition to stay on the land.

Disintegration of city colonies.—In the cities there is a tendency on the part of the new generation to establish their homes outside of the old Czech colonies, in parts of the cities where they mingle more with people of American stock. Thus the Czech colonies of Chicago, Cleveland and New York, once so compact, are slowly disintegrating, owing to the exodus of the younger generation to other parts of the city. In some cases there is a tendency to form new Czech colonies, as in Cicero in Chicago, and Astoria in Queens borough, New York City; but in most cases the people scatter to the four winds. The natural result is a weakening of the clannish national consciousness, so characteristic of the Czech colony.

Migrant Slovak workers.—The Slovaks, having among them more men without families, and being engaged in more transitory occupations, are more disposed to move from place to place. Many of them go the rounds of various industrial centres, seeking more advantageous terms of employment, or moving to be near friends. There is no marked movement either to the land on the part of industrial workers or to the industrial centres on the part of those few now out on the land. The children born here are apt to set up their homes in the same surroundings in which they were brought up. There is little mingling with the older American stock even on the part of Slovaks of the second generation.

THE RETURN MOVEMENT TO EUROPE

Czech immigration permanent.—The Czech immigration to this country is, very largely, a permanent one. That is to say, the Czechs come to America with their families with the intention of definitely casting in their lot with us. If they return to the old country it is usually for a short visit to relatives or for a sentimental journey to see "what the old country looks like," as is the case with many, now that there is an independent Czecho-Slovak Republic. Thus in the study made by the United States Immigration Commission, out of 3,603 Czech employees interviewed only 4 per cent had made one or more visits abroad, while with the Italians, Magyars, and Poles as many as 20 per cent had returned at least once.

Slovaks return.—With the Slovaks the case is quite different. Having been for years accustomed to seasonal migrations to different parts of Europe, the Slovak has been disposed to view his migration to America in the same light, and to return to the old country as soon as he felt he had saved a sufficient

amount of money to have made the trip worth while. Furthermore the Slovaks often came without their families, and had to return for them later, and support them with remittances from their savings in the interim. Many Slovaks have crossed the ocean as many as five times.

Assimilation retarded.—Naturally, such restlessness retards assimilation. One whose loved ones and home are on the other side of the water, and who expects to return to them as soon as he has saved enough money, will not begin to fit himself for the conditions of life in the new world, nor to learn our language, nor study our institutions, nor to invest his savings here.

Final settlement in America.—It must be said, however, on behalf of the Slovaks, that the tendency is for him finally, after one or more trips home, to settle down in America with his family. That is especially true of the man who stayed here long enough to imbibe something of the American atmosphere. He is not content then to remain in the old country, and is restless until he can return with his family to America.

Influence of returned Slovaks upon conditions at home.—Before the war, the returned Slovak emigrant exercised a great influence upon life at home. A quotation from Seton-Watson's "Racial Problems in Hungary" will bring out this point. "During the past generation many thousands of Slovak peasants have emigrated to the United States, carrying with them feelings of bitterness and resentment towards the authorities of their native land. They speedily learn to profit by the free institutions of their adopted country, and today the Slovaks of America possess a national culture and organization which present a striking contrast to the cramped development of their kinsmen in Hungary. Everywhere among the emigrants, leagues, societies and clubs

flourish. These societies do all in their power to awaken Slovak sentiment, and contribute materially to the support of the Slovak press in Hungary. The self-confidence and manly independence of the returned emigrants contrast with the pessimism and passivity of the older generation, and they are doing much to leaven the Slovak population with new ideas of liberty and justice. This the Magyar government views with alarm."

One travelling throughout Slovakia can distinguish the "Americans" (as the returned emigrants are called) by their dress (the derby is characteristic), manner, and oftentimes by the houses they live in, for in not a few places have the returned emigrants built cottages quite in American style. Sometimes too, in the railroad train, one hears a peasant chatting along in Slovak but swearing in English, just like the "boss" in America.[1]

Present return movement.—Just now there is quite a pronounced return movement under way on the part of the Slovaks. Those returning are, however, for the most part, men whom the war has cut off from their families for five years, and who naturally want to see them all again. Whether this return movement is of a permanent nature will depend upon the conditions they find prevailing in the new republic. The past four years have been difficult ones for many Slovaks here, and if things look at all promising in Czechoslovakia, undoubtedly many of those now returning will be permanently lost to us.

[1] Professor Steiner's book "Sanctus, Spiritus and Company" throws interesting light upon the influence of the returned Slovak.

Part II: Economic Conditions

OCCUPATIONS

Previous occupations of Czech and Slovak immigrants.—It has been stated that most of the Czecho-Slovak immigrants to this country come to us with the economic background of the agriculturist. A study of the annual reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration for the decade ending June 30, 1919, gives us an indication of the exact situation in this regard.

Czechs.	
Total Immigration for ten year period	36,756
Total Professional Class	243
Total Skilled Workers	8,147
(Leading occupations: Carpenters, tailors, miners, shoemakers)	
Total unskilled	16,211
Agriculturists	3,614
Laborers	5,368
Servants	6,560
No occupations (including women and children)	12,155
Slovaks.	
Total Immigration for ten year period	114,723
Total Professional Class	95
Total Skilled	5,947
(Miners 3,278: others scattering)	
Total Unskilled	79,028
Agriculturists	34,330
Laborers	27,412
Servants	16,862
No Occupations (including women and children)	29,653

Large percentage of Agriculturists.—Inasmuch as most of those listed as "laborers" and "servants" came from the rural districts of the old country, we may assume that practically all of those listed in the unskilled class come from a rural economic background. This assumption would make 33 percent of the incoming Czech wage earners skilled workmen, 65 percent unskilled (with a peasant back-

ground) and one percent of the professional class. With the Slovaks we have only 7 percent of skilled workmen: 92 percent unskilled (with a peasant background) and a small fraction of one percent of the professional class. The large number of "servants" listed is noteworthy, in view of the present shortage of that class of labor.

These figures by no means indicate the economic situation among the Czecho-Slovaks after their arrival and settlement in America, but are interesting merely as showing the equipment in experience and training which they bring with them. If all these brought up in the country at home had gone upon the land upon their arrival here, the situation would have been greatly altered and many of our most perplexing problems would have been solved. The change of agriculturalists to industrial work is characteristic of the Czecho-Slovaks as well as the other immigrant races.

Czech agriculturists.—Of all the recent immigrants, the Czechs, as distinguished from the Slovaks, have gone out upon the farms most extensively. The census of 1900 (the latest statistics available on occupations of the immigrant races) show 32 percent of the Czech male breadwinners of the first generation, and 42 percent of the second generation engaged in agriculture.

Early struggles.—Texas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Iowa, Minnesota, Michigan, South Dakota, Wisconsin, and Virginia have large populations of Czech farmers. A large proportion of the early Czech immigrants in the fifties and sixties went directly to the Middle West, or to Texas, took out homestead rights, broke the prairies or cleared off timber land, and began farming. The tales of the struggles and sufferings of those pioneer farmers constitute a heroic chapter in the story of the development of the Middle West. But today these men

and their children are reaping the reward of their hard labor, for the Czech farms of those sections are among the most valuable, and the farmers progressive, intelligent and industrious American citizens. Miss Balch includes in her book "Our Slavic Fellow Citizens" a vivid "True Story of a Bohemian Pioneer" (pp. 343 ff.) and pays glowing tribute to the heroism of those early settlers. Some of the letters written to the Czech agricultural paper "Hospodář" contain graphic accounts of struggles of the homesteaders.

Success attained.—The Czech is a splendid farmer. Accustomed as he is to intensive agricultural methods in the old country, he is able to work miracles when given rich and fertile soil. Furthermore, he is progressive. Agents for the latest agricultural machinery in the Middle West state that they have no better customers than the Czech farmers. Nearly all have automobiles. Their children are sent to High School, and in most cases to the State Colleges and Universities. The second generation is displaying a most commendable tendency to stay on the land, and carry on the development of the farms which their fathers had created out of the virgin soil.

Ownership of land.—Those who have arrived during the last twenty years and gone out upon the land have had a harder time of it in some ways than their predecessors. There are no more homestead rights in productive sections of the country. The price of land is high; prohibitive for the newcomer, in most cases. Many have bought land on the installment plan, and are slowly working their way towards full ownership. Thus at Phillips, Wisconsin, the Czech farmers have been able during the last ten years to make an investment of $4,400, on the average, in farm land and machinery, paid for by the product of their labor on leased land. At

Ely, Iowa, it is reported that 80 percent own their farms; at Tyndall, S. D., 75 percent; at Thurston, Neb., 60 percent; at Silver Lake, Minn., 95 percent, and at Sealy, Texas, 50 percent (the rest being "renters").

Czechs in cities skilled workmen.—As for the Czechs settled in urban communities, the majority are skilled workmen. It is very seldom that we find a Czech engaged in rough manual work as day laborer. For the most part they avoid the steel mills and coal mines. They are to be found in our shops and factories, or engaged in trades, while many are shop-keepers and small merchants. Among the trades that of tailoring seems to have the preference, although in New York the tobacco industry claims a large proportion of both the men and women, 15 percent, according to Mr. Capek. The pearl button industry is another specialty of the Czechs of New York.

Good wages.—Czech workmen command top wages, and, in these days, that means a tidy income. Twenty-five dollars a week is common, while many are receiving as much as fifty, seventy-five and a hundred dollars a week in wages as skilled workmen.

Second generation in stores and offices.—With the second generation there is a decided change in the means of livelihood. Few of the children of Czech parentage in our cities will go into the factory or shop, or even take up a trade. There is a decided trend towards the store and office. The ranks of clerks and stenographers are filled with boys and girls of Czech parentage. Many go beyond High School in their education, and become teachers, dentists, doctors, lawyers, business men, and professional musicians. The second generation is consciously taking a step upward on the economic and social ladder. It is a grave question, however, whether many of these young people would not do better both for

themselves and for society by taking up a trade. Many of them could be first class artisans, while they will never be more than second rate clerks. But these young people share with the children of the American workingman the disdain of manual labor.

Few Czechs prominent in American life.—Not many of the Czechs, either of the first or second generation, have made a great impression upon the business or professional world of America. Mr. Čapek gives a long list of American Czechs who have achieved success, but very few of them are known outside of Czech circles. Charles J. Vopička of Chicago, United States Minister to Rumania; Congressman Adolph J. Sabath of Chicago; and Charles R. Pergler have achieved some prominence in the political world; Dr. Aleš Hrdlička of the National Museum in Washington is well known in the scientific world of America; but few others have gained a national reputation.

Few Slovak farmers.—The Slovak, upon coming to America, adopts an entirely different means of livelihood than the Czech. In the first place, comparatively few Slovaks become farmers. There are indeed some Slovak farming communities in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Ohio, Minnesota, Arkansas, Virginia and Wisconsin, where farms have been bought by money saved during the time of earlier employment in industrial centres, and there are here and there indications of a trend from industry to the farm. But these are scattering instances, and the Slovak farmer is the exception rather than the rule.

Slovaks industrial workers.—The Slovak is essentially the industrial worker. It is in the steel and coal districts that he is most apt to be found. Indeed, with the Poles, Hungarians and Italians, the Slovaks do the bulk of the industrial work of Pennsylvania and Ohio. The Slovak is also found doing

the rough work on the railroad, in the packing houses and in the factories. He is typical of the immigrant industrial worker, and his economic status in this country is involved in all those questions which go to make up our industrial problem.

Wages.—There is no difference between the wage of the Slovak worker and that of any other worker. He receives the usual wages of the place, the industry and the season. There seems to be little discrimination against immigrant labor as far as wages go. The Slovaks are not an easy prey for employers desirous of securing cheap labor.

Endures poor working conditions.—In the first place, the Slovaks are here to get money, and to get just as much of it as they can and as quickly as they can, so that they may improve their status here, and bring their family over, or in order to return to the home land after a while with a tidy sum in savings. They will, however, put up with working conditions that the American workingman would not. They will stand for harder work, longer hours, and poorer living and working accommodations than the native workingman. It is doubtful whether the general standard of living of the Slovak industrial worker represents any improvement over that of the old country. But he has money in the bank, and he keeps putting money into the bank until the day comes when he can make a sharp break away from his unsatisfactory work and surroundings, either back to the old country, or to a new and better walk of life in this country.

Second generation Slovak in industry.—There is not the sharp break in occupation between the first and second generation that holds true of the Czech. Slovak boys reared in steel and mining communities are apt to follow the calling of their fathers, at least in the beginning. This is especially true now with the prevailing high wages. It is hard to persuade

boys when they arrive at working age to continue with their studies, when they know they can go into the mill and immediately receive a wage of five dollars a day.

No inducement to higher education.—One social worker tried to persuade the son of a steel worker to go on through High School and College instead of going into the mill immediately upon securing his working papers. "You will be able to do better for yourself and family if you have an education," she argued. His reply stopped the argument. "You are a college graduate," he said, "but I bet I can earn more money right now than you are earning with all your education."

Social stigma of industrial work.—It is doubtful, however, if such a situation will continue when normal conditions are restored. There is a social stigma about work in the mines or mills, which is difficult for children educated in our public schools to bear. It requires no prophet to predict that in time the Slovaks of the second generation will leave the mills and the mines and for the same reason that our American workingmen have left them, because they feel the work is beneath them. As it is now, however, there are fewer children of Slovak extraction who are pushing their way up the social and economic ladder than is the case with the Czechs.

Reports on occupations, etc., from different sections.—By way of summary the following extracts from reports given by men knowing the Czecho-Slovaks in various parts of the country are interesting.

Place	*Principal Occupations*	*Wages*	*Rents*	*Per Cent Owning Homes or Land*
Chicago	Czechs—all trades (tailoring and slaughter houses leading)	$25 to $50 mo.	$18 a mo.	25 per cent
	Slovaks—laborers	42c hr. $4.00 day		
Westfield, Mass.	Czechs—cigar making, whip shops, machinists	$4.50 a day	$17 a mo.	40 per cent
Pittsburgh	Steel mills, railroad shops	$4-$5.50 a day	$20 a mo.	30 per cent
Ambridge, Pa.	Slovaks—steel mills	$6 to $10	$6 a room	None
Youngstown	Slovaks—steel	$6	$7 a room	None
Mingo Jct., O.	Slovaks—steel	$5.25	$18 a mo.	70 per cent
Mt. Carmel, Pa.	Slovaks—coal mines	$100 a mo.	$10-12 a mo.	None
Loyalhanna, Pa.	Slovaks—coal, brick	$7.50 $4.50	$9 a mo.	3 per cent
Creighton, Pa.	Slovaks—coal	$3.50 a day	$14	
Hazleton, Pa.	Slovaks—coal	$5.00 a day	$10	
Uniontown, Pa.	Slovaks—coal	$7.50 to $15 a day	$10	None
	Coke	$4.50 to $8 a day		(company)
New York	Czechs—cigars	$25 a wk.	$18 to $30	Few
Racine	Czechs—factories	$4 a day	$20	75 per cent
Cleveland	Czechs—laborer to bank president	$.65 to $1 a hr.	$20	60 per cent
St. Paul	Czechs—trades	$3.50 a day	$15	75 per cent
Phillips, Wisc.	Czechs—farming	$65 a mo. and board		
Thurston, Neb.	Czechs—farming	$80 a mo.		50 per cent
New Prague, Minn.	Czechs—farming	$1,000 to $6,000 a year		All
Tyndall, S. D.	Czechs—farming			75 per cent
Ely, Iowa	Czechs—farming	$60 a mo.	$12 an acre	80 per cent
Sealy, Texas	Czechs—farming	$3 to $4 a day		50 per cent
Oklahoma City	Czechs—farming			All on installments.

It is significant to note in the above reports the large percentage of Czechs who own their own homes, indicating both prosperity and permanency of settlement.

Czechs thrifty.—Both Czechs and Slovaks are great savers. The Czechs, particularly those on the farms, have the reputation of being close fisted with their money, and prone to drive a hard bargain. But in these days of lavish spending, it is a comfort to think that there are some elements in our population which are conservative in this regard. Certainly the support given by the Czechs of America to the movement for the liberation of Czechoslovakia and to the Liberty Loan and other war drives was most generous. Though there are few rich men among the Czechs in America, the people as a whole are very thrifty. Thus a Czech Building and Loan Association in Chicago has $18,000,000 invested in it, while $25,000,000 in savings are deposited in one of the Czech Savings Banks of that city.

Savings of Slovaks.—The Slovaks probably accumulate savings even more rapidly than the Czechs. It is not uncommon for Slovaks to return home with $5,000 of savings accumulated during a stay of a few years in this country. At Hazelton, Pa., a savings bank patronized largely by Slovaks reported on December 31, 1917, deposits of $805,321.55, and on December 31, 1919, $2,038,938.39.

Little social and industrial unrest among Czechs.—The present wave of social and industrial unrest has not greatly affected the Czech workingmen in America. There are radicals among them of course, but they are in a minority, and their voice is little heard and less heeded in Czech circles. Where the Czechs are a predominating factor in an industry, as in the tobacco industry in New York, they seem to be most successful in establishing and maintaining their rights. The fight of the Czecho-Slovak soldiers

in Siberia against the Bolshevists of Russia has erected in the minds of many Czechs in America a sentimental antipathy against economic radicalism. Economically as well as politically, the Czechs of America are much more conservative than their compatriots in Czechoslovakia.

Slovaks in labor troubles.—The Slovaks have felt much more acutely than the Czechs the burden of industrial oppression, and the heartlessness of American industry. In the industrial disorders in the coal and steel industry, the Slovaks have usually taken their places in the ranks of the workers in their fight for better wages and better living conditions. It is doubtful whether if, left to themselves, the Slovaks would initiate a strike, no matter how intolerable conditions might be. But when once the issue is joined the Slovaks follow their fellow-workers faithfully and doggedly to the bitter end, even when great inroads upon their savings are involved. It is hard to induce a Slovak to become a strike-breaker. He will, however, seek work elsewhere when a strike is on, and during the steel strike of 1919 many simply went into another industry unaffected by the strike until matters were settled.

The Slovaks seem to work equally happily in the unionized coal mines and in the "open shop" steel mills and rubber plants. He falls in readily with attempts to democratize industry, and he submits as easily to autocratic rule. The Slovak workingman is ready clay in the hands of the molders of industrial relationships, and can become a tremendous asset to our economic life, or a great peril, according to the way he is handled and led.

Chapter III

THE IMMIGRANT IN AMERICA (Continued)

Part III: Social Conditions

Town vs. country. First generation vs. second.—The social conditions prevailing among the Czecho-Slovaks in America vary so greatly between the two nationalities themselves, in the first place, and between town and country, and first and second generations with both, that general observations are difficult to make, and of doubtful value when made. A study of each community or of several typical communities would give the best picture of the manner of life of these new Americans. In the observations to follow, therefore, conditions existing in given localities will be cited as typical. This is done with the full realization that the statements made will not hold true of all communities of Czecho-Slovaks in America. But the attempt will be made to avoid broad generalizations.

HOUSING CONDITIONS

Czech owned farm-houses in Iowa.—Attention has been called to the fact that there is a widespread tendency among the Czechs to acquire ownership to their own homes. In the rural districts this is particularly apparent. The farm-houses owned by Czechs compare very favorably with those of the American farmer. In Iowa, for example, one sees farm after farm upon which Czech owners have built

neat and attractive houses, capacious barns, and modern silos. The houses and grounds are well kept, surrounded by flowers and vegetable gardens, cared for generally by the efficient Czech house-wife. It is seldom that one sees a tumble-down farm-house owned by a Czech.

Czech "renters" in Texas.—When the Czech farmer is merely a "renter," as is often the case in Texas, the dwelling has the appearance of providing temporary shelter merely. The farmer is putting all his money into the farm, and striving to acquire ownership of the land first of all.

Czechs in New York tenements.—In the cities, housing conditions among the Czechs are more varied. In New York, the Czech colony on the East Side in the seventies is located in a typical tenement house district. Although some of the modern open-stair tenements built in this district are largely inhabited by Czechs, the vast majority of them still live in the old style tenements. There are scores of old tenements in the district, dark, dirty, and poorly ventilated. The average flat has four rooms, of which two have windows on the open, generally the parlor in front, and the kitchen in the rear. The rooms in the middle, which are used for sleeping quarters, are dark, and ventilated by a shaft. In these rooms the entire family, often consisting of eight or more persons, sleeps. The kitchen is used as the living room, the parlor being used only for visitors and parties.

Quarters sacrificed for food.—Not all the Czechs living in such quarters are poor. Many continue to endure such conditions because they are the only kind available in the colony, or within easy distance of their work. As a whole the Czechs seem inclined to get along with poorer quarters, and put the money into food. For the Czechs do enjoy their food!

Czech dwellings in other cities.—In the Bronx and Queens borough (New York), Cleveland, Baltimore,

Cedar Rapids and even Chicago, the proportion of Czechs living in their own homes is much greater than in Manhattan, New York, and conditions are therefore very much better. In Chicago, owing to the absence of many-storied tenement houses, and the prevalence of two-story houses, one gets the impression that the Czechs there are much better housed. An examination of the interiors of these two-story houses, however, often reveals the same darkness, dirt, and lack of adequate sanitation so prevalent in New York.

Many of the more prosperous Czechs of the first generation and more of the second are moving away from the old Czech colonies to other parts of the city, and when they do so they move into much better quarters, and consequently are in a position to approximate normal living conditions.

Slovaks in "company homes."—The Slovak industrial worker has to make his home in the steel or mining town, where the surroundings are about as forlorn and degrading as one can possibly imagine. Row after row of frame "company houses," built so near the coke ovens that the smoke usually blows through them carrying with it dirt and cinders, facing on unpaved streets of black cinders, with no sewer, no modern plumbing, no facilities for bathing, such are the "homes" to which many of the Slovak workers in the Connellsville coke region return each night after a sordid day's work at the coke oven or down in the mine.

Sordid surroundings.—There is nothing more depressing to one interested in the building of a new America than a walk through the foreign section of Gary, or through the steel town of Lackawanna, N. Y., on the outskirts of Buffalo. Bleak, bare, and dirty, it is impossible to conceive that an ideal Christian home may be established in such surroundings.

Improvements.—Yet the Slovaks respond to efforts

to furnish better housing conditions. Some of the more enlightened industrial concerns have provided neat and attractive houses, with a place for gardens, and the Slovak house-wife, accustomed to the fresh color of her peasant surroundings, has made of these houses refreshing oases in the midst of a desert of cinders and smoke.

When Slovaks do buy their own homes, as they are doing in an increasing degree, their size and attractiveness indicates that the overcrowding and unsanitary conditions of early days were simply tolerated until their ambition could be realized.

The boarding house evils.—The large number of single men among the Slovak workers has given rise to one of the greatest social evils of our industrial world, the immigrant boarding house. Packed like sardines into stuffy rooms, where there is little room for anything save the crude bunks, certainly here is little opportunity for the development of American standards of living.

Response to better living conditions.—Let no one make the mistake of thinking these men like to live that way. Their quick response to opportunities for better living conditions refutes that argument completely. They are forced to accept that which is to be had near their work. No better service can be rendered our country than an organized effort to provide for the workers homes which they can buy on easy payments, and where they can lead a life which at least approximates what we are pleased to call the "American standard."

RECREATION

Both the Czechs and Slovaks are pleasure loving people. In fact, both nationalities are too prone to proceed upon the theory "Eat, drink and be merry."

First generation vs. second.—The form of recrea-

tion adopted by the older generation is necessarily influenced by their old world habits, and the organized, commercialized and professionalized recreation so characteristic of American life has not so great a place among them as it has among their "Americanized" children. Their favorite forms of recreation are the following:—moving pictures, dancing, outings, picnics, etc., gymnastics, music, card-playing, and amateur theatricals. With the young people, raised in this country, sports of all kinds take precedence over the forms of amusement preferred by their parents.

Dancing.—Both old and young are immoderately fond of dancing, and the National Halls have their dancing floors crowded to capacity at their frequent dances and "balls." The various benevolent and social organizations among them hold annual balls, and there is great rivalry among them as to which will produce the "most successful affair." Before the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment, these dances were often attended by shocking moral conditions, owing to the proximity of the bar to the dancing floor. Conditions are now greatly improved, but no one can say that the atmosphere of these affairs is conducive to the highest standard of morals. Both Czechs and Slovaks have most attractive and quaint national folk dances, and it does seem too bad that these must be replaced by our shocking and vulgar American dances. The Czecho-Slovaks could render America a great service by bringing into vogue their own "Beseda" and other folk dances.

Gymnastics.—Although the Czecho-Slovaks of the older generation take little interest in sports as we know them in America, they have brought with them a fondness for gymnastics which they seek to cultivate through the organization here of "Sokol" along the lines adopted in the old country. The extent and influence of "Sokol" as an organization is described

elsewhere. As gymnastics is only for the comparatively young, its development among the Czecho-Slovaks in America will depend upon the degree to which the second generation take it up. So far the Czecho-Slovak youth of America seems to take more interest in it than one would suppose, in view of the popularity of baseball, football and other American sports. America's representative in gymnastics at the Olympic games, Kříž, was a Czech, trained in the Sokol in America. Many American Czecho-Slovaks took part in the great exhibition and meet held at Prague in June, 1920, in honor of the winning of independence.

MORAL STANDARDS

Standards high.—The charge that the immigrants are undermining the moral standards of America cannot be brought against the Czecho-Slovaks. A police captain of New York testifies: "If all the people on the East Side were as clean, morally and physically, as the Czecho-Slovaks we should have little trouble."

Crimes.—The Czechs are conspicuously quiet, industrious and law-abiding. Such crimes as exist among them are apt to be offenses against property instead of against person. Cases of assault or homicide are rare. But distinctions between "mine" and "thine" are often lost sight of by the Czechs. The word "brati," "to take," is used if one is not caught, while the word "krasti," "to steal," applies only when detected. Thus it happens that burglary seems to be the principal offense charged against Czechs in the Chicago Police Court.

Quarrelsomeness.—The Czechs quarrel vigorously among themselves. The writer has time and again seen two Czechs enter upon a heated argument, get very red in the face, put their faces very close together, and tell each other in vigorous and unmistak-

able fashion what they thought of each other. But always they manage to cool off without resorting to fisticuffs. Czechs raised on the other side very seldom put their hands on anyone, even under the greatest provocation. The newspaper editors flay one another in their columns most unmercifully, using language that would surely cause a suit for slander with Americans. But nothing comes of it, and one is liable to see the contending editors sipping their beer together the next day. Czechs seem to regard quarreling as a necessary incident of life, and they lose no sleep over altercations which would worry others for days. They themselves say "We are a very frank people; we say just what is on our minds." Which is often another way of saying: "Disagreements and quarrels are the spice of life. Soft speaking and tactfulness mark the weak man."

Family life.—Family life among the Czechs is generally stable, and marked by unusual faithfulness on the part of man and wife. Immorality exists among them, of course, but their standards compare favorably with any other element in our population in this respect. The position of women in the home necessarily reflects the European standard, even among the second generation. It must be said, however, that Czech women take a very active part in the affairs of the community. Some very splendid women's organizations exist among the Czecho-Slovaks, while in the industrial warfare as waged by strikes, and in the Great War, they proved themselves to be very energetic propagandists.

Morals of Slovaks: drink.—The Slovaks are by nature more simple, and in a way, more lovable, than the Czechs. Their faults are more serious, and of a more glaring nature, but one loves them in spite of their shortcomings. Drink was one of the great curses of the Slovak in America. Wild parties were held nearly every week-end in the Slovak commun-

ities which were often a riot of drunkenness. Drinking still goes on despite the Eighteenth Amendment, but conditions are immeasurably improved. Both Czechs and Slovaks are irrevocably opposed to prohibition, and many of them are quite openly defying or evading the law. So many of them have had some experience with the saloon business that they respond very readily to the shop-keepers' appeal to "make your own."

Immorality.—The absence of the wives of so many Slovak workers in this country has entailed temptation which the more settled Czechs have not had to meet. The loosening of the moral ties has been perhaps inevitable. Such immorality as exists, however, seldom takes the form of organized vice. It is a case of unmorality rather than immorality, very often.

Position of women.—Professor Steiner, in "The Immigrant Tide," has many stories to relate of the rise in the position of women among the immigrants in the United States, and among no other nationality is this so marked as among the Slovaks. Steiner's latest book, "Sanctus, Spiritus and Company" gives many interesting side-lights upon the new standards created in the life of the Slovak through living in America.

FAMILY LIFE: RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND GENERATIONS

The greatest danger to the integrity of family life among the Czecho-Slovaks in America is not immorality, but the sharp break between the parents and their children born here.

Break between first and second generations.—This is to a certain extent inevitable. There is the barrier of speech in many instances. The children know English, and their parents do not. The children have

but a smattering of their mother tongue. The children are learning American ways of thinking, American standards of conduct, American ideas about the family life. It requires more patience, adaptability and resourcefulness than the average immigrant parent possesses to manage such a situation so as to retain the respect of their children and preserve the family discipline intact. Where the mother is away all day the situation is much aggravated.

Problem of second generation.—The second generation of the Czecho-Slovaks present a very difficult problem, mainly because of this break from their parents' influence. The best homes are those where the parents either have learned English, or have made an effort to understand America, and where the children have learned their mother tongue and have studied sympathetically the history, traditions and customs which are bread and meat to the old folks. Where the parents insist upon establishing a Czech home on American soil, and the children look upon their parents as "Bohoes" and everything Czecho-Slovak as "Dutch," we have an impossible situation.

NEIGHBORHOOD LIFE

Czech clannishness.—The Czechs are disposed to be clannish, more so than the Slovaks. The Czech colonies in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, and even in the farming districts are apt to be quite self-sufficient. The people work in shops where the majority of the employees are of their own nationality. They live near by, where they have Czech tradesmen, Czech banks, Czech theaters and amusement halls. All the essential needs of their life may be satisfied without going outside of the colony or coming in contact with the institutions of American life.

Community life nationalistic.—The neighborhood consciousness under such circumstances has a dis-

tinctly racial trend. People of other racial groups residing in the community are ignored so far as the community interests and enterprises are concerned. Any form of community organization which fails to take this factor into account will not accomplish much with the Czechs.

This exclusive clannishness is gradually disappearing in the city colonies, owing largely to the paucity of fresh immigrants, and the consequent rise to positions of influence of the second generation.

Czech rural communities.—In some rural districts the community life is more exclusively racial than in the city. Clarkson, Nebraska, for instance, is a distinctively Czech community. There was only one non-Czech family in the town, and that one, of German extraction, was compelled to learn the Czech language and adapt itself to Czech ways in order to get along. The trades, stores, banks, newspapers, churches are conducted by Czechs and for Czechs. Both English and Czech are used equally extensively. The school is conducted in English, but there is also a good school of the Czech language in out-of-school hours. Strange as it may seem such communities as these approach more nearly the American standards of community life than do the more "Americanized" city colonies.

Slovaks mingle with other races.—The Slovaks mingle more with people of other nationalities in their community life, but rather less than the Czechs with older Americans. In the steel and mining communities one finds Slovaks mingling freely with Croatians, Russians, Poles, and even with Magyars and Italians. There are few distinctively Slovak communities. Nearly always the population is polyglot. Slovaktown in Arkansas is a notable exception, but this experiment in agricultural colonization has not proven such a success as to invite much imitation.

RELATIONS TO OTHER RACIAL GROUPS

Czechs and Germans fraternize.—Strangely enough, the Czechs seem to mingle more freely with the Germans than with any other racial group in this country. In spite of the racial feud which has existed between these nationalities for centuries and which reached its culmination in the Great War, the Czechs and Germans have so much in common that it is quite natural for them to associate in their life here. As Mr. Čapek puts it: "The Czechs were drawn to the Germans by a similarity, if not identity, in customs and mode of life; besides, educated as many of them had been in German language schools, the pioneers felt pretty much at home among the Germans—notwithstanding old-country racial antagonisms." (p. 112.)

Czechs and other races.—With the Magyars there is another story to tell. Here the old country racial prejudice is transplanted, and often applied as vigorously as in Europe. With the Italians and Jews the Czechs have little in common and are disposed to hold themselves apart and aloof. For the Irish the Czechs have much contempt. They are apt to lay all the ills of our American life to their door. To this day any American woman who incurs the dislike of a Czech is liable to be dubbed an "Irishka."

Slovaks and Magyars.—The Slovaks mingle quite freely with other racial groups with the exception of the Magyars. Even in this instance where the old country feud is most bitter the relationship between the workingmen here is not so bad as some of the Slovak leaders and editors would make out. Somehow racial antagonisms are not deeply imbedded in the life of the common people unless fanned by agitation from above or some particularly acute racial conflict.

INTERMARRIAGE

Czechs and Germans.—There is considerable intermarriage among the Czechs with people of other racial groups. Again it is the Germans that are most often chosen as life partners when the Czechs marry out of their own racial group. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that the language barrier is not so great in the case of Czechs and Germans, as most Czechs are familiar with the German language.

Nevertheless even with the younger generation, born here, the rule is that Czechs marry Czechs or Slovaks. But with them it is not so much the racial consideration that is determining, as the natural result of propinquity and association either in work or social life.

Slovaks' intermarriage.—The Slovaks do not have any decided preference for any other nationality when planning marriage. They intermarry more with other Slavs, Poles, Ukrainians, Russians and Croatians, than do the Czechs. There are many marriages of Slovaks and Maygars, but few with Italians, Germans or Scandinavians.

Amalgamation through intermarriage.—It is too early yet to judge what progress has been made in the amalgamation of the Czecho-Slovaks into our American stock through intermarriage. Undoubtedly the Czechs will soon arrive at a stage where intermarriage with people of older American stock will be as frequent as they are among the Germans today. It will be much longer before the Slovaks arrive at this point, for with them the social and psychical barrier is greater. Already, however, in the second and third generations a difference in the physique is observable. The young Czechs are not the short, pudgy men their fathers are apt to be, but incline to the tall, rangy type, characteristic of the Yankee.

RELATIONS TO THE OLD COUNTRY

Connections with old country natural.—It is unnatural and unreasonable to expect that an immigrant will upon his arrival upon our shores immediately sever all relations with the old country. Some professional "Americanizers" seem to feel that such should be the ideal towards which we should strive in our work with immigrants. They apparently expect that when a man forswears allegiance to his former ruler and becomes an American citizen, that he should thereafter forget the years that are behind him, and all the manifold experiences which life in the old country has brought to him, and think, feel and act exactly as if his forefathers had come over in the *Mayflower,* and this were indeed for him the "land where my fathers died." This is manifestly short-sighted, provincial, and absurd. Those of us who have Anglo-Saxon forbears are apt to be proud to claim England, Scotland or Ireland, as the case may be, as our "old country." We are interested in the literature, history, and traditions which form our Anglo-Saxon heritage. We claim it as our own. When we visit the old country, we feel at home there.

Contribution of races to America.—America is a new country, and we are making here a new nation. Although the predominating element in the population has been and probably always will be Anglo-Saxon, one of the distinctive characteristics of the development of America is the fact that men of all nations have here been accorded freedom for the fullest self-expression, so that into our national life have flowed streams of influence from every race under the sun, with all bringing to America some distinctive contribution, and all working together to build a new nation in the new world.

Provincialism.—This fact has been fully recognized in the case of the French, Spaniards, and

Dutch who were among our earlier settlers. It has also been accepted as true of the Germans, Scandinavians, and Irish. Why should we not accept it as true also of the Italians, the Poles, the Magyars, and the Czecho-Slovaks? If the contention is that these peoples have nothing to give to America, we have but another proof of that crassly narrow provincialism which is one of the greatest perils to our American life and thought today.

Hyphenism.—A great deal has been made of the peril of the hyphenated American. As a matter of fact, in spite of all the agitation which would give the contrary impression, the cases of disloyalty to our country even on the part of those classed as "alien enemies" have been so very few in proportion to the total "foreign" population as to give the most thorough vindication of the Americanism of our foreign born people.

Among Czecho-Slovaks.—Among the Czecho-Slovaks, the question of "hyphenism" has never arisen. For the most part, they were from the beginning of the war, much more strongly pro-Ally than the average American. This was, of course, due to the fact that their national aspirations coincided with those of the Allies, and the success of their national cause was bound up with the success of Allied arms to an extent that was not true of the destiny of America.

National ideals similar to ours.—Furthermore, it is impossible to conceive of an occasion arising wherein the question of divided loyalty among the Czecho-Slovaks in America would be raised. This is due to the unusual degree to which the Czecho-Slovaks have adopted national ideals and aspirations similar to our own. With a nation aiming at the establishment of a republic upon the broadest possible democratic basis, it becomes true that the most fer-

vent Czecho-Slovak patriot is the very best material available for citizenship in our republic.

Loyalty to America.—And so it has happened that while the Czecho-Slovaks have manifested unusual interest in the furtherance of the movement for the liberation of the Czecho-Slovak nation, and have given time, thought and money without stint in its furtherance, they have not thereby in any degree weakened in their devotion to America, but have rather rendered the greatest possible service to America thereby.

Support of Czecho-Slovak revolution.—The Czecho-Slovak revolutionary movement was backed heavily financially by the American Czecho-Slovaks. The propaganda for winning the support of the Allied nations, particularly America, for the cause was most vigorously carried on by the Czechs and Slovaks in America. Yet most of these propagandists were American citizens, and when the time came for America to enter the war, proved their enthusiasm for America's cause by volunteering to fight in the American army, and by backing the Liberty Loan drives even more liberally than they had their own nationalistic propaganda.

Sentimental attachment to old country.—The interest among the Czecho-Slovaks in America in the affairs of their native land is intense. It is, however, largely a matter of sentiment. Few of them would care to return and become citizens of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. They were born there and brought up there. Their friends and oftentimes their relatives are there. The scenes and customs of the old country are familiar to them. They would like to see them all again, but would not care to live there permanently. They want to see their countrymen progress and prosper, so as to win for themselves some of the privileges which they enjoy in America. Thus it is that the newspapers here are filled with

items of news from the old country. Thus it is that as many contacts as possible are retained with the old country. Few indeed of the Czecho-Slovak leaders in this country retain any desire to form their countrymen here into a colony of the mother country. Most of them frankly recognize that the Czecho-Slovaks here are lost to the Czecho-Slovak nation, and desire only to keep alive in their hearts memories of the old country, so that in their hearts there may be a sympathetic sentiment for those people and institutions which they have left behind, and so that here in America they may prove themselves to be worthy representatives of the nation of which they are justly proud.

Among young people.—Among the young people born here, no question arises. They are American in thought and interests. In fact, a greater interest in things Czecho-Slovakian, a more sympathetic understanding and appreciation of the things that meant much to their parents would make of them better American citizens than they are apt to be when they cut themselves off from the old world influences entirely, as they only too often do.

Missionaries for American ideas.—With the Slovaks particularly, life here in America has had a great influence upon the development of affairs at home. The Slovaks here have been the apostles of a new age for Slovaks, and with a freedom of press and speech not accorded them under the old régime at home, they have rendered a great service in pointing the way to that freedom which has now been attained. Both Czechs and Slovaks become ardent missionaries for American ideas and ideals in all their contacts with the old world.

POLITICAL RELATIONS

Party affiliation.—Neither the Czechs nor the Slovaks play any conspicuous part in the political life

of America as racial groups. Such of them as have the right to vote, exercise it in complete independence of nationalistic considerations. Party affiliations depend upon local conditions. In New York and in the rural districts, the Czechs are perhaps predominantly of the Republican persuasion. Miss Balch (p. 395) advances for this the plausible reason that the Irish are Democrats. In Chicago, on the other hand, it is said that most Czechs are Democrats.

Few Socialists.—More worthy of note is the fact that few of either vote the Socialist ticket, in spite of the predominance of Socialism in Czechoslovakia and the sympathy of many of those in America with Socialistic views. Among the Czechs there is a rather noisy element which supports the Socialist party, but it is rather on the wane in influence just now.

Corruption.—Corrupt influences in politics have little sway over them, with the exception of occasional instances among the less enlightened Slovaks. American politics is largely a matter of indifference to them.

Internal politics.—Both Czechs and Slovaks love to play politics among themselves. Among the numberless organizations existing among them, there is a continual bickering which appears to the disinterested observer as picayune. Life among them seems to consist of one "affair" after another. The "Horky affair" and the "Ishka affair" are cases in point. Both of these men occupied positions of influence among them and were discredited, largely because of their stand on European political matters. There is among both Czechs and Slovaks a class of men who are in reality professional politicians, playing for the stake of influence, position and power in the Czecho-Slovak communities in America. As the Czechs and Slovaks enjoy nothing better than to

launch attacks upon men who have attained positions of power, these politicians find public life rather precarious. Both Czechs and Slovaks dislike to have their family quarrels aired for the benefit of the general public, for they are anxious above all things to have the good will of the American people. They need not worry on this score, for their petty squabbles are tempests in a tea-pot and will not affect greatly their standing with Americans. For those who work with them, however, it is often puzzling that they can expend so much time and energy on things of so little importance.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND FORCES

Nationalistic organizations.—The life of the Czecho-Slovaks in America is surprisingly highly organized. Mr. Čapek (p. 254) estimates that there are at least 2,500 lodges and clubs among the Czechs alone. In New York alone the Czechs have fully a hundred such organizations. The Slovaks are even more extensively organized than the Czechs, for in the old country this privilege was denied them under Magyar rule.

Benevolent and non-benefit.—These organizations are almost always formed along nationalistic lines, membership being confined to those of their national group. They are of two kinds, benevolent societies, which pay a benefit in the event of sickness or death, and non-benefit societies.

Sokol abroad.—Of the latter group, the most influential is the Sokol. The Sokol which exists in this country not only among the Czechs and Slovaks, but among the Croatians, Slovenes and Poles as well, is a transportation from the old country. The Sokol, as it exists in the old country, corresponds to the German Turn Verein. In fact, Czechs of the young generation often refer to the members of Sokols as

"Turners" to identify them in the minds of Americans. It is primarily a gymnastic organization, founded by zealous Czech patriots on the theory that a sound body is fundamental if a nation is to progress. Those who have seen any of the Czech Sokolists drill will bear witness to the splendid physical training this organization has given them. The Sokol became also the training ground for Czech patriots, and its contribution to the success of the revolutionary movement through the education of Czech and Slovak youth in the elements of patriotism cannot be overestimated. In the old country, this organization is one of the greatest forces for social welfare existent.

In America.—In the United States, the attempt has been made to imitate the old world organization, and establish branches of it here along the line followed abroad. Much has been accomplished along the line of training in gymnastics, and the Czechs and Slovaks of America owe their splendid physical condition more to this organization than any other. In America, however, the Sokol has lacked the moral power of the organization abroad. In the first place, the Czechs and Slovaks here had not the same stimulus to concerted effort for the common good as abroad. Then too, the organizations here, being put to it financially, have used their buildings for bars, moving picture theaters, dance halls and meeting rooms, all of which have detracted from the moral tone. Suffice it to say that Sokolists from the old country are shocked to see the conditions under which the organization here is conducted.

Musical and theatrical societies.—Other organizations common among both Czechs and Slovaks are musical societies and amateur theatrical societies. Although some of these societies turn out really meritorious productions, their value is more in

providing entertainment to their own people than in acquainting Americans with Czech music and drama.

"**Č. S. P. S.**"—Of the benefit societies, the oldest and most influential is the Czecho-Slavic Benevolent Society (Česko-Slovanský Poporující Spolek). This organization is familiarly known by the initials of its title, Č. S. P. S., pronounced by the Czechs "Chaspas." This society was organized in 1854 and in the controversy which subsequently arose over the religious question, became the representative of the non-Catholic or free-thinking side. It enrolls 23,680 members and has 216 branches, one in almost every Czech community.

National Slovak Society.—Commensurate with Č. S. P. S. in extent and influence is the National Slovak Society, which has a decided patriotic character, and has done much to enlist the Slovaks of America wholeheartedly in the movement for Czecho-Slovaks' independence. In addition to providing sick and death benefits to members, this society assists Slovak students, disseminates Slovak literature, raises funds for political and benevolent purposes, organizes patriotic meetings, and acts as a clearing house for Slovak interests in the United States.

Catholic benevolent societies.—Both Czechs and Slovaks have numerous other benevolent societies of the same general nature. Some are organized on the religious basis. Thus there is a whole series of Roman Catholic organizations which are the counterpart of the non-Catholic ones, for the priests do not desire their adherents to associate with the "non-believers" of the other organizations. The Slovaks also have an Evangelical Union of some strength and influence, but the Protestant Czechs have no national organization of any importance.

National halls.—The non-Catholic organizations

meet either in Sokol Hall, or in a building set apart for the use of these fraternal organizations. Such a building is the National Hall of New York City. This contains a restaurant and bar, generally filled with tobacco smoke and, in pre-prohibition days, reeking with the smell of beer, but, nevertheless, a place where families can and do congregate. There is also a moving picture theater, run on a strictly commercial basis, and now one of the chief means of support for the building. On the upper floors are school rooms used for the Czech and Slovak language schools, and various meeting rooms for the lodges, fitted out with all the paraphernalia usually associated with secret societies. Above is a large ball room for dancing, with a commodious stage suitable for theatrical performances or concerts. This ball room is used for dancing every Saturday and Sunday night, either by one of the Czech organizations using the building or by an outside organization which rents the hall. The moral atmosphere at these dances depends upon the organization giving it, but too often it is of a nature to do little good to the young people attending, and to bring little credit to the Czechs who stand sponsor for it.

Character and influence.—These buildings serve as a social center for the people with the exception of some Catholics and Protestants who make of their own churches social centers. Being conducted by the Czechs themselves who are largely influenced by the necessity of making the place pay for its keep at all costs, the building represents no Americanizing influence whatsoever, and the general influence upon those attending is not in accordance with the highest ideals of the Czecho-Slovaks themselves.

Czech National Alliance and Slovak League.—During the war both Czechs and Slovaks forgot their internal over-organization and petty quarreling sufficiently to organize a Czech National Alli-

ance and a Slovak League, in which all organizations joined to promote the cause of Czecho-Slovak liberation. It was a splendid united effort, and it would be well if it might be continued during peace times, for the Czecho-Slovaks could well afford to do away with some of their organization and coördinate their efforts.

LEADERSHIP

Types of leaders.—Archibald McClure in his most suggestive book, "Leadership of the New America," makes five classifications of immigrant leaders, namely, traditional, national, educational, business and economic. The traditional leaders are those whose position here is determined by their leadership on the other side. Such are the priests, doctors, bankers, etc. National leaders are those at the head of the nationalistic propaganda carried on in this country for the liberation of the people abroad. Educational leadership is exercised for the most part by the editors of foreign language newspapers. Business leadership is exercised by those who have forged ahead in the business world here, until they have attained to a position of prominence and consequent leadership. Economic leaders are the foreign born labor leaders and agitators.

Early leaders newspaper editors.—Among the Czechs the leaders in the past have almost always been newspaper editors, Naprstek, Zdrůbek, and Klácel, the men who molded Czech public opinion during its formative period, were all editors or journalists. Few indeed are the men who have achieved prominence in the Czech world of America who have not at some time in their career turned to the printed page as the best means of securing a following among the people. As Mr. Čapek says, "A time was when the editor not only wrote for the people; he

literally thought for them. His advice on matters relating to the affairs of the community never failed to command attention."

Present day leaders.—This time has passed, however, for now we have a new generation that knows not Joseph. There are no men among the Czechs in America who wield anything like the power which was exercised by the leaders of old. Such prominent men as there are, are of the national or business type of leaders, although some priests and clergymen represent the traditional type with a limited following. Of the present Czechs of prominence, Charles Pergler is a lawyer by profession who gained a position of leadership in the movement for Czecho-Slovak independence; Dr. L. J. Fisher is a Chicago physician who has given practically all his time to the Czecho-Slovak movement of late years; Vojta Beneš is a school teacher by profession, who has been in America but a few years, but has done much to further the national movement among the Czechs here; James F. Stepina, president of the American State Bank of Chicago, and Thomas Čapek, president of the Bank of Europe of New York, have contributed much to the Czecho-Slovak cause, the former by his work in connection with the National Alliance and the latter through his many writings, both in Czech and English, on Czech subjects. Of the newspaper editors, Joseph Mach and Dr. J. E. S. Vojan are perhaps the most prominent. Vladimir A. Geringer, publisher of the Chicago "Svornost" and United States Trade Commissioner to the Czecho-Slovak Republic, and Emanuel V. Voska, an importer and exporter of New York, are business men of considerable influence among the Czechs. Of the Roman Catholic priests, Rev. Oldrich Zlamal of Cleveland is best known nationally, while of the Protestant ministers, Rev. Vincent Pisek, D.D., of New York, Rev. V. Rosa, D. D., of Pittsburgh and

Rev. Vaclav Vanek, D. D., of Chicago are perhaps the most prominent.

Their aims.—These are all men of unusually high caliber who, despite sharp differences of opinion and point of view among themselves, are united in two main objectives: first, to enlist the sympathy and support of the Czechs of America for the cause of national freedom; and, second, to enlist the sympathy and understanding of America and Americans for the new Republic and for Czecho-Slovaks in America. All high minded Czechs are very jealous of the good name of their people in the minds of Americans, and this more than any other consideration induces them to provide a constructive type of leadership. As most of the leaders have lived here many years, and understand the spirit of America, they are able to do much in the way of interpreting America to those who have more recently arrived upon our shores.

The younger generation of Czechs, not reading the Czech newspapers or following very closely the affairs of the Czech communities, are comparatively untouched by such leadership, and follow such leadership as America affords them.

Slovak leaders.—Among the Slovaks, the leaders are almost always priests or newspaper editors, and with the common people poorly educated and comparatively un-Americanized, their power is greater than with the Czechs. It is most remarkable that the Slovak leaders have been able to accomplish so much in the way of educating their people to support the national Czecho-Slovak idea, and in the general elevation of their status here in America. Great stress has been laid upon securing a higher education for the young men, and the results of this propaganda are most encouraging. Of all the immigrant races, the Slovaks of America have exercised the greatest influence upon conditions in the old country. Much more could be done in the way of interpreting

America to the Slovaks, so that they may be induced to settle here permanently, and be able to do so as intelligent and progressive members of society.

Responsibility of leaders.—Both Czechs and Slovaks are wary of the Americanization movement and justly so. But the best way of avoiding the unsympathetic and bungling interference of "Americanizers" is for the native leaders themselves to bend every effort to interpret America to their compatriots and to lead them so efficiently towards the American ideals and standards that any other leadership will be supererogatory.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Americanizing influence.—"The foreigner becomes an American the moment he crosses the threshold of our public school"; "The process of Americanization begins with the primary grades and is completed in practical life"—such is the testimony of foreign leaders themselves as to the value of the public schools as a factor in Americanization. Even such a pessimistic observer of immigrant life in America as Professor Edward Alsworth Ross makes the following tribute to the transforming power of the public schools (E. A. Ross: "The Old World in the New," p. 250):

"In a polyglot mining town of Minnesota is a superintendent who has made the public school a bigger factor in Americanization than I have found it anywhere else. The law gives him the children until they are sixteen, and he holds them all. His school buildings are civic and social centers. Through the winter, in his high school auditorium, which seats 1,200 persons, he gives a course of entertainment which is self-supporting. By means of the 400 foreigners in his night schools, he has a grip on the voters which his foes have learned to dread.

Under his lead, the community has broken the mine-boss collar and won real self-government. This man sets no limit to the transforming power of the public school. He scoffs at the fear of a lack of patriotism in the foreign-born or their children. He declares he can build human beings to order, and will not worry about immigration so long as the public school is given a chance at the second generation."

Opportunity of teachers.—The writer stood one morning in a mining town at the entrance to a public school. Into it were flocking hundreds of children, most of them "foreigners," many of them of Slovak parentage. For the better part of their waking hours they were to be within those walls, under the direct influence of some teacher. What a splendid opportunity for character building is here! Beside such an opportunity the work of our settlements, churches and too often of the children's homes, fade into insignificance. And yet, we have just begun to realize the extent of this opportunity. We have too many characterless and visionless teachers, too many schools closed tight after school hours, and in many communities too few school buildings and teachers to adequately accommodate the children of the community. Christianize our school system, and a long step will be taken towards the solution of our problem.

THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

Catholic policy.—It is the settled policy of the Roman Catholic leaders to establish separate schools for children of foreign parentage, where instruction is given largely in a foreign language. Public schools are denounced as Godless because there is no religious instruction given there. The children must be kept in the faith even at the cost of an inferior edu-

cation and an insufficient knowledge of English. Parents are induced to send their children on the plea that they will be kept from American influences.

Enrollment.—The extent to which these schools have spread among our foreign population is astounding. In Cleveland, according to Professor Ross, 27,500 children, one-third of all school children, are enrolled in parochial schools. "In Chicago," he states, "there are 112,000 in the parish schools to 300,000 in the public schools. In New York the proportion is about one-sixth. In twenty-eight leading American cities the attendance of the parish schools increased sixty percent between 1897 and 1910, as against an increase of from forty-five to fifty percent in the attendance of the public schools. The total number of children in the parochial schools is about 1,400,000." ("The Old World in the New," p. 252).

Educational standards.—Many of these schools are erected by contributions of the foreigners themselves, and at least bear testimony to their zeal for the cause. They are for the most part conducted by Catholic sisters, and although in some the equipment and curriculum are of the very highest order, in general they are most inferior, and, quite aside from the religious question, the schools constitute one of the gravest antisocial and un-American institutions in existence among the foreigners.

Catholic propaganda.—The sharp break of the Czechs away from the Roman Catholic Church has induced most parents to send their children to the public school instead of to the parochial school. But Czech leaders testify to an increased enrollment of Czech children in the parochial schools of late, owing to an exceedingly active propaganda carried on by the Catholic leaders. With the wane of the free-thinking movement, the Roman Catholic Church is seeking to regain lost ground, and the parochial

school seems to be their chosen instrument to accomplish this result.

Among the Slovaks the parochial school has always been influential, for the Slovaks are most faithful in their adherence to the old faith, and they see in these schools an opportunity to keep their children true in the faith.

Language schools.—In addition to the parochial schools, both Czechs and Slovaks maintain language schools where the children are instructed in writing, reading and speaking Czech and Slovak. These schools are held after the public school hours or on Saturday or Sunday.

Czech free-thinking schools.—With the Czechs they are generally supported and conducted by the free thinkers. Mr. Čapek estimates that from 7,500 to 8,000 children attend these schools. Chicago maintains nineteen schools, attended by 1,340 pupils. The school in New York is attended by 800 pupils, while those in Cleveland enroll 700. From 1910 to 1915, 69 new schools were organized enrolling 5,292 children. (See Čapek: "The Czechs in America," p. 243.)

Curriculum.—Occasionally Czech history and folk music is added to the curriculum, and until recently some of the schools taught a free-thinker catechism giving the reasons for not believing in God, the Bible, the Church or any of the accepted tenets of Christianity.

Slovak young people's circle.—With the Slovaks, this work is conducted largely by the National Slovak Society through its Young Folks' Circles, in which are enrolled some 5,000 boys and girls between the ages of six and sixteen. These circles also accord to the members some benefit privileges, but their main object is to educate the children in the Slovak language and to instil in them pride in their own history, language, songs, customs and traditions.

Value.—Properly conducted, such schools may be a force for a great good, in breaking down the barrier between the parents and children and enriching the cultural life of the young people. There is of course the danger of crowding too much instruction into the children's lives, and then too such schools may easily become the tool of the propagandist.

LITERATURE AND THE PRESS

So much attention has been drawn to the foreign language press in America of late, that it will be timely to estimate carefully the extent and value of the reading matter which is being distributed among the Czecho-Slovaks in their own tongue.

Literature.—Neither Czechs nor Slovaks have produced very much literature of value in their own tongue in America. Much has been accomplished in reprinting the works of Czech standard authors, and a great many translations from the English and German have been made available for the Czech and Slovak leaders here. Mr. Čapek ("The Czechs in America," p. 166) quotes a Czech bookseller as saying: "My best customers are clergymen and socialists. Old settlers seldom buy a book; their children never." It is surprising that the Czechs, with all their cultural progress, are not greater readers of good literature than they are.

Importance of the press.—Both Czechs and Slovaks seem to prefer the newspapers or periodicals in their reading in their own tongue. And of the making of newspapers among the Czecho-Slovaks there is apparently no end. Everyone who has an ax to grind, a propaganda to spread, an enemy to confound, an ambition to further, or a cause to support turns instinctively to the press as the one adequate method. Confer with Czechs or Slovaks over the state of their affairs in this country, and the upshot

of the conference will surely be the conclusion that a new newspaper or periodical should be started. Verily these men are great believers in the theory that the pen is mightier than the sword!

Influence in the past and present.—The history of the life of the Czechs and Slovaks in America fully justifies such a faith in the power of the press. From the very outset it has been the Czech and Slovak newspapers and periodicals that have molded public opinion among them, and shaped the development of their thinking. The leaders of the Czechs in the old days were nearly all newspaper editors, and their word was law. Even today, although the editors' influence is not comparable to that of the pioneers, the Czech and Slovak press remains the greatest single factor in the formation of public opinion among the Czecho-Slovaks of America. More can be accomplished, for good or ill, by the editors of the foreign-language newspapers for the immigrants of the first generation than by all the social and welfare work of the settlement schools and churches combined. This is particularly true of the Czechs, of whom 98 percent can read their own language.

Younger generation not reached.—The younger generation is not reached by the foreign language paper, save in some rural communities. Indeed the continued existence of many such papers is dependent upon the arrival of fresh immigrants, for the younger generation reads only American papers.

Number of Czech periodicals.—Mr. Čapek has made a most interesting study of the history of Czech journalism in America which is published in Czech under the title "Padesát Let Českého Tísku v Americe" (Fifty Years of Czech Letters in America), the essential facts of which are republished in his book "The Czechs in America" (pp. 164 ff.). In the period covered by his study (1860 to 1911), 326 Czech journals came into being. Many of them were

but short-lived, for the career of the Czech journalist in America was a hectic one, and crowned with failure more often than with success. But today there are being published in the Czech language upwards of eighty periodicals. There are eleven dailies, thirteen semi-weeklies, thirty-six weeklies, four fortnightlies, twenty-four monthlies, and four published irregularly.

Character.—These periodicals represent every possible shade of public opinion. Politically, the Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, and Anarchists have their organs. There is a sharp line of demarcation among them on the religious question, as between the anti-religious or free-thinking press on the one side, and the religious Catholic and Protestant on the other. Many of the benevolent societies issue a magazine as the official organ of their society. There is a splendid agricultural magazine, and one devoted to the interests of women. There are illustrated magazines, humorous papers, literary magazines and technical journals. During the course of the fifty year period the Catholics started twenty-four publications, of which ten survived until 1911. The Protestants inaugurated twenty-five journalistic endeavors in that period but only eight had survived until 1911, and of these two have ceased publication since that time, while a third is on the edge of the grave. Two new publications have been inaugurated by the Protestants of late, making the present total eight.

Circulation.—The combined circulation of the Czech periodicals is said to be in the neighborhood of 150,000. *Hospodar* (Husbandman), an agricultural paper published in Omaha, is said to have a circulation of 30,000, while the *Hlasatel,* a Chicago daily, claims a circulation of 25,000. (Capek: p. 171.) The daily Chicago *Svornost,* and the weekly Omaha *Osveta Americka* (American Cul-

ture) and *Pokrok Zapadu* (Progress of the West) all have branch papers in several localities in which the main body of reading matter is taken from the mother paper, additional items being added for the benefit of local readers. Undoubtedly those periodicals which adopt an independent or hostile stand on religion have a much wider circulation than the distinctly religious papers published by the Catholics and Protestants. Mr. Čapek estimates that 75 percent of the reading done by the Czechs is of the non-religious or anti-religious variety. (Padesát Let Českého Tísku v Americe, p. 59.)

The Slovak press.—Mr. Čapek unfortunately does not include the Slovak press in his study. Miss Balch states in her book "Our Slavic Fellow Citizens" (p. 383), upon the authority of Mr. Rovnianek of Pittsburgh, that at that time (1910) there were twelve papers published in the Slovak in America with a combined circulation of 112,500, as against twenty published in Hungary with a combined circulation of 48,300. These figures give an accurate picture of the comparative extensiveness of the Slovak press in this country as against the home-land where, under the old régime, there was no freedom of the press—under the Magyars. With the establishment of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, this pressure, which before the war made the rapid development of the Slovak press in America indispensable, has been removed. We may therefore look to see the Slovak press in America devoting more of its energies to the affairs of the Slovak in this country instead of with propaganda aimed at the eradication of old-world evils.

Extent and character.—No authoritative list of the Slovak publications of this country has been compiled. The writer has personal knowledge of the publication of 54 periodicals in the Slovak language, including six dailies, 25 weeklies, five fort-

nightlies, and 16 monthlies. Religious papers, both Catholic and Protestant, have a greater vogue than among the Czechs, there being 19 such publications in all. Nevertheless, the most active free-thinking paper circulated among the Czecho-Slovaks today is the Slovak *Rovnost Ludu*. *Narodni Noviny*, the official organ of the Slovak League, has perhaps the largest circulation. *Slovak v Amerike* is also most influential. In their journalistic standards, the character of their subject matter, the Slovak journals are much similar to the Czech, although there is no daily Slovak paper which can compare with the "Svornost" or "Hlasatel."

Americanism of Czecho-Slovak press.—So much has been said of the un-American influence of the foreign language newspaper, that it behooves us to study them most carefully as to actual subject matter in order to arrive at some conclusion as to the influence of these periodicals for good or for evil. The mere fact that a paper is printed in a foreign language is not even *prima facie* evidence of its un-American tendency. In fact many of the Czecho-Slovak papers display a sounder type of Americanism than those all too American sheets which emblazon their Americanism in letters six inches high.

Subject matters.—The following study was made by the writer of the actual contents of several Czech and Slovak newspapers as compared with typical American newspapers, in order to bring out differences of emphasis, and to show just what general type of reading matter is offered by the foreign language papers. Daily newspapers were chosen for the study as giving the best basis of comparison. Of the Czecho-Slovak papers studied, the *Hlasatel* is perhaps the widest read Czecho-Slovak daily in the United States. It claims to be independent in political and religious matters. *New Yorské Listy* is the leading daily of the Czecho-Slovak colony

in New York. It is largely supported by the benevolent organizations and is decidedly free-thinking in its attitude towards the religious question. *Narod* is the only Roman Catholic daily published among the Czechs. *Spravedlinost* is the organ of the Czech Socialists of Chicago; *Newyorksý Dennik* is a struggling Slovak daily of New York. As a basis of comparison with the American Press, the *New York Times* was chosen as representative of our standard metropolitan dailies, and the *New York Journal* as representative of the American papers widely read by the working classes.

TABLE I

Percentage of Space devoted to Advertising.

Times	57	Hlasatel	55
Journal	53	N. Y. Dennik	39
		Spravedlinost	35
		Narod	33
		Listy	20

TABLE II

Percentage of Reading Matter devoted to Specified Subjects.

Subject	Times	Listy	Spravedlinost	Dennik
Czechoslovakia	——	.205	.125	.50
Other foreign news	.171	.098	.111	.13
American politics	.125	.018	——	——
Local News (N. Y., etc.)	.080	.056	.022	.13
General News (U. S.)	.076	.071	.111	.15
News of Czechs and Slovaks in U. S.	——	.236	.279	.09
Editorials	.062	.018	.022	——
Communications	.012	——	——	——
Special Articles	——	.068	.176	——
Reading (Fiction, etc.)	——	.166	.154	——
Women's Interests	——	——	——	——
Social and Personal (including obituaries)	.050	.064	——	——
Sports	.164	——	——	——
Business and Finance	.235	——	——	——
Miscellaneous notices (Weather, shipping, etc.)	.025	——	——	——
Total	1000.	1000.	1000.	1000.

Percentage of Reading Matter Devoted to Specified Subjects.

Subject	N. Y. Journal	Hlasatel	Narod
Czechoslovakia	——	.133	.108
Other foreign news	.080	.120	.054
American Politics	.036	.020	.027
Local News (N. Y., etc.)	.233	.067	.084
General News (U. S.)	.112	.108	.014
News of Czechs and Slovaks in U. S.	——	.176	.189
Editorials	.033	.040	.162
Communications	——	——	.013
Special Articles	.166	.056	.053
Reading (Fiction, etc.)	.033	.120	.081
Women's Interests	——	.060	——
Social and Personal (including obituaries)	.033	.100	.133
Sports	.152	——	——
Business and Finance	.076	——	.014
Cartoons	.046	——	——
Religious Articles	——	——	.068
Total	1000.	1000.	1000.

An interpretation of these tables will be illuminating.

News of Czechoslovakia.—The first fact of significance is the large amount of space devoted to news from Czechoslovakia, ranging from ten to fifty percent of the entire reading matter. This news is sometimes given in the form of cable despatches, more often in the form of letters from special correspondents or other American Czecho-Slovaks visiting abroad, but most often in the form of excerpts from the journals received from Czechoslovakia. At the present time, much space is given to a description of conditions prevailing in the new republic, social, economic, political and religious. The readers are kept well informed as to the intricacies of the political life which has come into being with the founding of the new Republic. Inasmuch as the Czecho-Slovaks here were shut off from the old country during the war, they are particularly hungry for news from there, especially as the war has brought about so many far-reaching changes. As has been pointed

out, such an emphasis in the press can be condemned only upon the theory that people upon coming here should cut themselves off entirely from their relationships and interests on the other side. There is never even so much as a suggestion that a greater loyalty is owed to the old country than the new. The question of loyalty is never raised, but taken for granted.

Other foreign news.—The table shows also that the Czecho-Slovak papers devote a great deal of space to foreign news, other than that from Czechoslovakia. All but one of them devote more space to this subject than the *Journal,* though none as much as the *Times.* This is due to the familiarity of the readers with European conditions and problems and a consequent greater interest on their part than that evidenced by the average American.

Political news.—Most noteworthy is the insignificant amount of space devoted to American politics in comparison with American papers. Politics is almost ignored, even before a Presidential election. The conclusion is unescapable that the readers of these newspapers are not interested in American politics. Either they are not citizens, or they are indifferent to the issues involved.

Local news.—In the amount of space devoted to local news items the Czecho-Slovak papers compare favorably with the American papers. A large proportion of the news items, however, is devoted to accidents and crimes. The papers follow the example of the *Journal* and other "yellow" journals in this respect, and may therefore be said to be quite well "Americanized" along these lines.

Sensationalism.—The same may be said of the general news items reported from other parts of the country. There is scarcely a murder trial of any significance that is not recorded in these papers. But again this is not to be laid at the doors of the foreign

editors, inasmuch as their general news items, as well as local and foreign news are quite generally taken bodily from some American papers of the previous day.

News of Czecho-Slovaks in America.—Much space, from nine to twenty-seven percent, is devoted to news of the Czecho-Slovak world in America. Much of this is news of the activities of the benevolent organizations. *New Yorské Listy,* for example, publishes every day a directory of the Czech organizations of New York, occupying three columns, and in addition a column devoted to news from these organizations. News of the immediate community in which the readers live is given much space in all the papers. *Hlasatel* regularly reports court news in which Czechs are involved. Not so much space is given to news of other Czecho-Slovak communities in the country, and thus an opportunity to create a larger measure of *esprit de corps* among them is lost. It is well for us to remember that for the Czechs and Slovaks here the little world of their compatriots constitutes their community, and that therefore in reporting the doings of the Czecho-Slovak world so fully, these papers are but fulfilling exactly the same function as our community newspapers of the small town.

Editorials.—All the Czecho-Slovak papers, with the exception of *Hlasatel* and *Narod* are short on editorial comment. In fact some of the editors seem to reserve their editorial pen for occasions when it is necessary to get the better of a journalistic adversary. The Catholic *Narod* has a full page devoted to editorials, of which many are to be sure, Catholic philippics, but many constructive and vital comments on events and tendencies of the day. The poverty of the editorial columns of these papers reveals the weak leadership afforded by the Czech and Slovak editors of today. This is the place to guide

the thought and opinion of the readers, but most of them avoid this responsibility and content themselves with short caustic comments on current topics or fill their editorial columns with contributed material.

Special articles.—A large amount of space is devoted to special articles of one sort or another. These vary greatly as to subject matter and value. Quite often they deal with some scientific subject; more often with a political or social question. Very few seem to be aimed at the particular problems of the readers, namely, those concerned with his adjustment to life in America. Some attention is given to an exposition of American ideas and institutions, but seldom is this driven home to the practical everyday life of the reader. A large measure of true Americanization work could be done through these special articles if the editors had but vision enough to see it. The American Red Cross Foreign Language Information Bureau and the Inter-Racial Council have done some valuable work along these lines, but they and all Americanizers must realize that such work to be of real value must come from the people themselves, and that the natural instigators of such educating work should be the editors of the various papers. Some of the Slovak papers have published practical lessons on citizenship. The Milwaukee *Czechoslovak* recently published a State Americanization number, largely devoted to articles in Czech and English seeking to interpret America to the readers. In their justifiable revolt against superficial "Americanization," the foreign language editors have failed to take advantage of the great opportunity which is theirs to educate their people to take their proper place in American life.

Fiction.—Every Czech and Slovak paper devotes several columns to fiction which is published in instalments from day to day. Some of the best Czech

and English literature has been placed at the disposal of their readers in this way, and some of the worst. There was a time when all Czech papers published little else but Indian stories of a sensational and trashy variety. "Nick Carter" and other characters of cheap American fiction have all had their day. As a matter of fact, this part of the paper is now-a-days less read than any other. Only the person who is entirely dependent upon the newspaper for his reading will take his fiction from its columns.

Social and personal items.—In the social and personal news it is worthy of note that it is the custom among all Czecho-Slovaks in this country to make public confession of grief at a relative's death, of appreciation of condolences, and of congratulations upon weddings in the columns of their local paper, the space thus used being paid for.

Sports.—None of the Czecho-Slovak papers have any space to devote to sports. Even "Babe" Ruth is unknown to their columns. In baseball, racing, boxing, tennis and golf, with which the columns of all our American papers are filled the older Czecho-Slovaks have no interest. The younger generation gets plenty of sporting news from the American papers.

Business and finance.—Obviously the Wall Street quotations and financial news to which the *Times* and *Journal* devote much space would be of little interest to the proletarian readers of the Czecho-Slovak papers.

Summary.—To summarize, the Czecho-Slovak newspapers render their greatest service by keeping their readers in touch with happenings of the old country and in their own community here. Their weak points consist in the paucity of interpretation of current events through the editorial columns, and in their failure to use their columns more widely for the education of their people for the conditions of

American life. The Czecho-Slovak newspaper as it exists today is by no means a peril to our American life. It is rather a great potential opportunity for educational service to the people, which is largely unused. The solution lies in the broadening of the vision of the editors, as to the meaning and significance of their responsibility.

ASSIMILATION

Inasmuch as a number of the subjects previously considered in this chapter have a direct bearing upon the question of assimilation, it will be well to review and summarize the discussion upon them at this point.

Summary of preceding discussion.—We have seen that the vast majority of our Czech immigrants come to America with the purpose of definitely settling here with their families, while many Slovaks come here for a short period only, leaving their families behind. There is a growing tendency among both Czechs and Slovaks towards the ownership of land or homes. Housing conditions in the "foreign quarters" are far below the American standard, but on the farm and in cases where the foreigner breaks away from the colony are much improved. In moral standards, both Czechs and Slovaks compare favorably with the American workingman. In the family life the position of the woman is decidedly affected for the better by the American standard, but the conditions of their life here often entail a perilous break between the parents and their children. The relation of the Czecho-Slovaks to the old country is vigorously maintained, but is based on sentiment rather than loyalty. Hyphenism does not exist among the Czecho-Slovaks. Their leaders are generally high-minded men, whose main objective, however, seems

to be the interpretation of the Czecho-Slovaks to America rather than the interpretation of America to them, although they have indirectly and unconsciously done much along the lines last mentioned. The many organizations existing among the Czechs and Slovaks carry on their activities along distinctly nationalistic lines, and their influence upon assimilation is often negative rather than positive. The public school is the great factor in the assimilation of the younger generation, but the parochial school tends towards separation. The foreign language press has done much in the past to interpret America to the Czecho-Slovaks, but the editors of today seem not to be making the best use of their marvelous opportunity for service along these lines.

Progress and assimilation.—This summary will perhaps assist us to estimate just what the actual condition of affairs is as regards assimilation. With the Czechs the process of assimilation has reached an advanced stage, owing to their intelligence and progressiveness, and also to the greater length of time during which they have been subjected to American influences. The Slovaks are naturally more backward than the Czechs, owing largely to their lack of educational advantages at home, and their recent immigration, but also to the fact that their location here in the heart of our American industrial life has not been conducive to rapid assimilation.

Meaning of assimilation.—Assimilation means many things to different people. Webster's Dictionary gives this definition of "assimilate": "To cause to resemble; to appropriate and incorporate into a like substance; to absorb. To become incorporated." By the assimilation of an immigrant, we mean the incorporation of these people into our American population to such a degree that we are no longer able to differentiate between them and other ele-

ments in the populations on the basis of nationality or race.

Tests of assimilation.—Popularly we have adopted several tests of assimilation which are emphasized in varying degrees by different people. The first is: "Have they such a knowledge of the English language as to enable them to share our thought?" The second is: "Do they understand our American ideas, ideals and institutions?" The third: "Do they share our ideas, ideals and purposes and support our institutions?"

Let us apply these tests successively to the Czechs and Slovaks of the first generation, leaving the second generation for separate treatment for obvious reasons.

Knowledge of English.—First, as to the knowledge of English, it may be said that few foreigners of any nationality attain such a knowledge of English as to enable them to understand, read, speak more readily than their native tongue. Most men coming to America after their fifteenth year will think in their native tongue to their dying day. It is possible, however, for them to secure a working knowledge of the English language, and of the Czechs fully sixty percent have such a knowledge, and thirty percent of the Slovaks. The fact remains, however, that, with practically all, the native tongue is the best medium for the communication of ideas. Thus the importance of the foreign language press and church, and the influence of the foreign leader. This state of affairs is not due to lack of inclination to learn English, but simply to the mental inability of mature persons to achieve a command of a foreign language.

Understanding America: Czechs.—The answer to the second question must necessarily be of a qualified nature. Without raising the very pertinent question as to what really are American ideas and ideals, the

test is most difficult of application. It may be said, however, that the Czechs are well fitted to understand the genius of American life. This is because both their background and mental equipment give them a splendid preparation for life in America. Liberty, equality, democracy, justice and such ideas and ideals find ready acceptance in the hearts and minds of the Czech people. With national altruism, as far as it has found expression in American life, the Czechs have not so much sympathy. As the Czechs abroad are inclined to be intensely and often narrowly nationalistic, so with the Czech who transfers his allegiance to America. There is little of the world view with him. International responsibility applied to other than Slavic nations finds little response from him. Likewise the Puritanical strains in our national life leave the Czech heart cold. He does not understand the feeling that led to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, for example. With other less desirable American ideas, the Czech falls in quickly. The emphasis upon speed and efficiency will enlist his support, but not his enthusiasm. The Czechs themselves are apt to characterize American life as a chase of the almighty dollar, but they themselves are not slow to join in the chase, and are certainly not desirous of being left behind. With the religious life of America the Czechs have little understanding and sympathy, as we shall see.

Understanding America: Slovaks.—The free air of America has had a remarkably liberating effect upon the Slovaks. We have noted already the influence which the Slovaks of America have exerted upon conditions at home. But the Slovaks have not the preparation for American life which the Czechs have had. They have been too long a subject people to easily take their place in a democracy. The founders of the new republic at home are finding this to be true, and it is supremely true in America where the

Slovak is transplanted from his natural environment. The Slovaks are more susceptible, more easily led. The environment of the industrial centres affects them as it would not a people with a different background. They are ready clay in hands of the moulders of the new America and of new Americans. If the result so far is not entirely in accordance with our liking, let us examine the moulds which we have created in our industrial centres, and ask ourselves whether we can expect good Americans to come out of conditions which are a shame and a disgrace to the name of America. The Slovaks understand very well the speeding-up process of industry, they understand industrial tyranny, they understand race prejudice, for with all these they have come into close contact. They know little of justice, freedom, equality or democracy, for they have seen little of it.

Sharing in American life: The Great War.—The extent to which the Czecho-Slovaks share in our national ideas and purposes is best illustrated by the part taken in the Great War, which has been regarded as the supreme test of Americanism. The response of both Czechs and Slovaks to the demands of our national crisis was whole-hearted, immediate and sincere. Both Czechs and Slovaks responded in large numbers to the call for service, even before the draft was put into operation. The government had no more loyal supporters in all its war activities than the people of Czech and Slovak extraction. Their response in the various drives was astounding. Invaluable service was rendered by Czecho-Slovaks in exposing German and particularly Austrian propaganda in this country. Few people are aware that the exposé of the activities of Dumba was largely due to the voluntary secret service work of some Czech leaders. So unquestioned was the loyalty of these people, that the government finally excepted them from the classification as "enemy aliens," to

which they were subjected as former subjects of Austria-Hungary.

Sharing our national aims.—Of course, their own national aspirations happened to coincide with those of America in the Great War, so that no issue was raised as to their loyalty. With many their devotion to the prosecution of the war was due as much if not more to their eagerness to further the liberation of Czechoslovakia than to their complete sympathy with America's national purpose. They responded much more eagerly to the call to establish the right of oppressed nationalities to self-determination than to the call "to make the world safe for democracy." But, in spite of this fact, the Czecho-Slovaks are quite justified in pointing to their war record with much pride, and claiming that, as far as the war is concerned they were much more American than some Americans.

Share in American political, religious, and altruistic life.—In our political life, our religious life, and altruistic life, neither Czechs nor Slovaks have any great share, and much needs to be done to interpret these phases of our life to them before they will be able to give us a well-rounded measure of service in the building of a new nation in America. In the practical phases of American economic life, the Czechs show special aptitude, while their knowledge of European conditions should help us to form an intelligent public opinion of foreign affairs. In another generation the Czechs will certainly share as completely in our American life as do the Irish, Scandinavians and Germans today. With the Slovaks two more generations will be necessary to accomplish such a degree of assimilation.

Let us now consider and evaluate some of the forces and agencies working for or against assimilation, in order to estimate what progress we may expect, and how the process may be expedited.

Aids to assimilation: Subjective.—Of the forces working for assimilation, some are subjective existing in the mind of the immigrants, and some are objective causes, more or less beyond their control, but subject to transformation by all of us together. Miss Balch has made an invaluable contribution to this subject in the concluding chapter of her "Our Slavic Fellow Citizens" (p. 397 ff.). She points out that the convenience of unity makes for Americanization. It is impossible practically for men of different nationalities to live and work together without adopting some common basis, and the American basis is the most natural one for them to adopt. Then, as Miss Balch states, the foreigner is astute enough to realize that the road to success lies away from the foreign colony and towards a more complete sharing of American life. Thus ambition assists assimilation. Further, the desire to be like their American neighbors leads to assimilation. Thus the foreign names are Americanized, and with the Czechs Červeny becomes Sweeny; Krtil, Krittel, Vlk, Wolf and so on. So also American dress, customs and habits are taken over, and finally American standards, ideas and ideals.

Aids to assimilation: Objective.—Of the objective factors working for assimilation, one of the most potent is the permanent settlement here and the purchase of a home or land. Without this definite commitment to America, the assimilative forces have but uncertain material to work upon. Next in importance is the economic life of the people. With the Czech farmers and skilled workers in the cities, the earning of their daily bread has necessitated assimilation. The public schools affect the parents but indirectly, but so great is the transformation wrought in the children that the parents must follow them to a considerable degree in their adoption of American standards or lose touch with them entirely. Wherever

intermarriage occurs it necessarily breaks down racial clannishness and hastens assimilation. The foreign-language press has done much in the past to assist assimilation, despite the outcry of Americans against it, and the present apathy of the foreign leaders in its use. Last though not always least, come those often professedly Americanizing agencies, the churches, settlements, and other American social welfare agencies. In so far as these agencies are conducted by Americans, they are apt to be less potent factors for assimilation than their sponsors think, simply because they are imposed upon the foreigners from without and, sometimes, from above. Where the Americans interested in these agencies have been able to identify themselves with the interests of the people, unusual success has been attained. But unfortunately, such cases are the exception rather than the rule. When, however, such agencies are left in the hands of the Czechs and Slovaks themselves, there is always the danger of their missing the goal and contenting themselves with a distinctly nationalistic service. Where the natives have grasped fully the true purpose of Americanization, such work has been conducted most effectively.

Retarding influences: Race prejudice.—But, over against these factors, there are forces which are working against assimilation, and which must be eliminated if the Czecho-Slovaks, as well as other nationalities are to be incorporated completely into our national life. Of the subjective influences retarding assimilation, by far the most potent is the effect upon the immigrant of the provincial race prejudice of the older Americans. We look down upon the "foreigner" and often despise and ridicule him, and then raise a great outcry when he does not become Americanized. As soon as the foreigner moves into a neighborhood, the better class of Americans move out, and then wonder that these people are slow to

grasp the meaning and ideals of America. The foreigner is an outcast, shunned and exploited by the rest of society.

Resultant clannishness.—It is easy to see the effect of such an attitude upon the foreigner himself. He is thrown back upon his own resources. Americans create in him an inferiority complex which he seeks to relieve by herding together with his own people, where at least he has some standing among his fellow-men. It is an open question whether the clannishness of the foreigners is not due more to the exclusive provincialism of Americans than to their own natural gregariousness. In any event, this clannishness is one of the greatest obstacles to the process of assimilation. Americanization has proceeded most rapidly in those cases where Czechs and Slovaks have been able to mingle freely with the American element. Thus it is that the true American spirit is more often found in the rural districts than in the cities, in spite of the fact that the farmers often retain the mother tongue more tenaciously than the city dwellers. On the farm, they are part and parcel of our American economic and social order, and not foreigners.

Resentment of Americanization.—The foregoing statements will perhaps enable us to understand the resentment of the Czechs and Slovaks to so-called "Americanization movements." Americans who have in the past spurned, despised and avoided the "immigrants" are now busying themselves with their Americanization. Having by their own attitude done all that they could to keep these people foreign, they would now forcibly press upon them those ideas, ideals, and standards which they have withheld from them in the past. The process of Americanization has been going on steadily among the Czecho-Slovaks as a result of their natural contacts and associations with American ideas and insti-

tutions, furthered by their own admiration for all that America stands for, and often in the face of a most discouraging attitude on the part of Americans. The very fact that there has been no compulsion about it has enlisted the enthusiasm of the Czecho-Slovaks, accustomed as they were to the forcible nationalization practiced in Austria-Hungary. Now that this process has gained considerable headway by the sheer weight of its own worthiness, and both Czechs and Slovaks have given convincing proof of their Americanism in the late war, suddenly they find the attempt being made to accomplish their "Americanization" by methods strongly savoring of the spirit of Austria and Hungary. With Americanization in its true sense as the elevation of our national life to the highest possible plane through a mutual understanding and friendly cooperative effort on the part of all the elements of our population, the Czecho-Slovaks have the greatest sympathy. The use of force will however only defeat the purpose and retard a movement which has already gathered much headway.

Other retarding influences.—Of outward conditions retarding assimilation the most fundamental is unquestionably the failure of such a large proportion of our Slovak immigrants to bring their families with them to settle here permanently. The absence of any intention to settle here permanently renders assimilation impossible. With the Slovaks another cause seriously retarding assimilation is operative. As Miss Balch most truly says (p. 419):

Industrial conditions.—"The economic pressure and low standards of our lowest industrial strata are are in themselves disastrous," and her quotation from the remark of a Ruthenian priest is most applicable to the Slovaks:—"My people do not live in America; they live underneath America. America goes on over their heads." Of the outward conditions created by Czecho-Slovaks themselves, the most

dangerous to the process of assimilation is undoubtedly the parochial school. If it is true that the public school is the greatest force for assimilation, anything that weakens the effectiveness of the public school is bad. This situation needs the most careful attention from those interested in building a united nation. The numerous Czech and Slovak organizations, while not actually, in most cases, exercising a retarding influence upon assimilation, do not further it very much. It is regrettable that so many of these societies are organized on nationalistic lines, when their purposes might well have been realized by amalgamation with other American organizations. Therefore, the extension of the Odd Fellows, Masonic Order and other similar societies among the Czechs and Slovaks is a wholesome sign. The Czech and Slovak press is another instance of an agency whose net influence is today neutral when it might be positively constructive.

The language question.—The existing state of affairs as to the use of the English and mother tongues by the Czecho-Slovaks has been described above. Much of the agitation against the use of foreign languages in this country has been short-sighted, because it failed to take into consideration the fact that for all immigrating in adult years the mother tongue will remain their natural medium of communication to their dying day. No amount of instruction in English can change this condition.

Medium of communication.—This being so, it would seem that the foreign language should be looked upon as an agency to be used in hastening assimilation rather than as an obstacle to be eradicated. If it is ideas that we wish to implant in the minds of these newcomers why not make use of the best available means of transmitting to them such ideas, namely, their own native tongue? Lectures, meetings, churches, newspapers and periodicals in

the foreign tongue should not be frowned upon, but captured for the dissemination of the highest and truest American ideas and ideals.

Learning English.—Nevertheless, every possible opportunity should be given the foreigner to obtain a working knowledge of English. Much is being done along this line by the public schools, churches, settlements and by the employers of foreign-speaking labor, and all such efforts should be encouraged and supported most heartily. Czechs and Slovaks welcome such opportunities when offered, and are quick to take advantage of them. It is difficult, however, to expect a laborer to learn much English when the only opportunity afforded him is after a hard day's work.

Foreign language temporary.—In general, the foreign language should be retained and made use of as a temporary expedient as long as we have immigrants of the first generation. If this is done, we shall find that English will gradually and naturally supplant the foreign tongue in common usage, until the other is relegated to the position of a cultural accomplishment as has already taken place with the Germans and Scandinavians.

On the other hand, all possible means should be used to encourage the children in the learning of their parents' native language. English they should by all means learn and learn well. The public school will take care of this, if allowed free sway, unrestricted in the scope of its influence by foreign-language parochial schools. But the parents' language is a great asset to the young people born here, both because it is in itself a valuable cultural accomplishment, and because it keeps them nearer to their fathers and mothers.

This brings us to a consideration of the question of assimilation of the younger generation. This has been left out of account in the discussion of the pre-

ceding pages, for the reason that the problem is quite different.

Assimilation of second generation.—It is common to regard the problem of assimilation as non-existent among the young people born here. Certainly they feel themselves to be as American as any of the rest of us. The writer was present at a recital of Slavonic folk songs given in the home of an American lady by a group of young people of Czech descent, all of whom were born and raised here. They were all dressed in the garb of the Czech peasant, which served to lend a foreign atmosphere to the occasion. After the recital, one of the audience, a well-meaning American lady, approached one of the singers with the preliminary question "Do you understand English?" The comment of the singers afterwards was illuminating:—"She thought we were a lot of blooming immigrants, just arrived yesterday at Ellis Island with packs on our backs!"

Knowledge of English.—The young generation of Czechs and Slovaks certainly meet the first test of assimilation, for with few exceptions their command of English is far superior to that of their parents' language. In fact the way in which the young people murder the Czech and Slovak is a by-word in all Czecho-Slovak communities. They do not read the foreign language newspapers; they get little from an address in the foreign language. They know the colloquial language of the home and the street, but anything beyond that is apt to go over their heads. To be sure, their English is not always "the King's own," but that is true of most Americans also.

Understanding America.—They may also, be said to understand our American ideas and institutions, in so far as our school system is capable of imparting such an understanding. Their share in our national life is also superficially complete. And yet there is something lacking to complete their assimilation.

We are still justified in considering the foreign born and their children as the group to be assimilated. Why?

Lack of background.—It is difficult to put one's finger on the reason. Superficially, these young people are as American as any other young people in our country. But still they are not, many of them, completely of us. Perhaps it is the lack of that rather intangible something which we call background. In most cases the children born here have but a slender thread of connection with the Czecho-Slovak background of thought and feeling. They are consequently like fish out of water. Naturally they cannot acquire an American background through book knowledge of America and her past. An American background can be attained only by living in America, and sharing in her life. These children may thrill with pride and patriotism as they sing of the "Land where my fathers died," but it would seem almost as if it were impossible for them to fully share in the national spirit of America until their fathers have actually died here, or until the third generation.

The transition period.—In any event, it is clear that these people are in the transition period. They are rapidly becoming Americanized, and it therefore behooves us to concern ourselves most energetically with the answer to the question: "What sort of Americans will they become?" There are numerous signs which point to the dangers inherent in the situation. In dress, manners and customs, many of the Czech and Slovak young people are imitating the worst that America has to offer. The second generation is guilty of crimes which are distinctly traceable to their American environment, as they are not to be found among their parents. Too often they have cut themselves off from all that is fine in their ancestral heritage, and attached themselves to the low

and degrading features of modern life in America.

Of course more than counterbalancing these dangerous tendencies are the instances where Czechs and Slovaks, born and raised here, have apparently taken hold of the best that America has to offer and brought to it the best that their heredity has bequeathed to them. Such young people make the very best kind of American citizens, and embody in their lives the ideal toward which we should strive.

Chapter IV

THE IMMIGRANT IN AMERICA (Continued)

Part IV: Religious Conditions

Old country faiths retained.—It is well to remind those interested in the spread of religion among the immigrants to America, that these people already have a religion when they come to us. The presupposition that all immigrants are Godless is an insulting injustice to people with as well defined and creditable a religious past as our own, and a reflection upon our own intelligence as well.

Religion not easily discarded.—Religion is not a part of man's mental and spiritual equipment which may be easily discarded or left behind, even upon the occasion of such a sharp break in one's life as is involved in emigration. Very few modern immigrants would care to follow the example of Ruth, who upon emigrating to a strange land said to her mother-in-law: "Thy people shall be my people, and thy God, my God." It is safe to say that if the men and women who come to our shores felt that their coming would involve the abandonment of their form of religion, and the acceptance of a new or modified form, they would never move a step towards America. Language, customs, standard of living—all these would perhaps be abandoned—but religion is the last stronghold of the old order, and is given up only under great stress. Thus we have had transplanted to this country the Puritanism of the Pilgrims, the missionary zeal of the Moravian Brethren, the Lutheranism of the Germans, the

Catholicism of the Irish. One of the great attractions of America has always been the opportunity to worship God in accordance with the dictates of one's conscience.

Transplanted faiths.—So in these latter days, we have seen other forms of faith transplanted to American soil by modern pilgrims. Judaism, the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic faith, Roman Catholicism and many different Protestant sects have been imported hither by believing immigrants anxious to maintain in their new home the same form of religion which they and their fathers before them had known in Europe.

Old World faiths of Czecho-Slovaks.—Let us now see to what extent the Czecho-Slovaks have retained in America the faiths which they knew in the old country. We have seen that of the Czechs in the old country 96% were Roman Catholics, 2% Protestant and 2% Jewish and others; and that of the Slovaks 68% were Roman Catholics, 19% Protestant, 8% Greek Catholic and 5% Jews. One would naturally expect to see this proportion maintained in America, and among the Slovaks it is.

Imported varieties of religion.—One of the curious sights of a polyglot mining town is the number of various kinds of foreign churches that have been erected there to care for the religious life of the workers. One may see side by side Russian Greek Orthodox, Ruthenian Greek Catholic, Slovak Roman Catholic, Polish Roman Catholic, Italian Roman Catholic, Slovak Lutheran and American Methodist churches. Like the Poles, the Slovaks are most faithful to the old-country faiths. This is true of Slovak Roman Catholics as well as of the Lutherans and Calvinists. True, religious faith is not, as with the Poles, inseparably bound up with the national consciousness, so that one who loses or changes his faith becomes an apostate from his nationality. But

the Slovaks are incurably religious, or superstitious according to the point of view. People of one faith flock together, and at the earliest possible moment secure the services of a priest or pastor who can minister to them in their own tongue, and it is not long before a house of worship is secured. Those in a position to judge testify that the Slovaks in America are divided as follows in their religious affiliations: Roman Catholics 60%, Protestants 20%, Greek Catholics 8%, unchurched 12%. There are 176 Roman Catholic churches where religious services are held in Slovak, with 190 priests. No authoritative information could be secured as to the number of Slovak Greek Catholic churches and priests. The Lutheran Church reports twenty-nine organized Slovak churches and sixty-two missions and preaching stations. There are twenty-five Lutheran Slovak ministers, and 7,500 communicants are reported. The Baptist Church maintains fifteen churches and missions with ten ministers, while the Presbyterian Church has eight churches and five missions. In many cases, the Slovaks are ministered to by Czech priests and pastors, as the Czech language is not only understandable to the Slovaks, but, with the Protestant churches at any rate, has been the language generally used in church worship. There is a greater insufficiency of Slovak priests and pastors in America than of Czechs, and the latter have often been called upon to do double duty.

Conservatism of Slovaks.—Not only have the Slovaks retained their church affiliations, but their whole attitude towards religion as well. The same formalism, ritualism and superstition which characterizes the Slovak religious life in the old country is to be observed here. The churches are crowded on Sunday mornings with well-dressed, orderly, worshipful audiences, and then those same people depart to a life in which religious principles and standards

apparently are little regarded. The Slovaks are sticklers for the exact observance of traditional ceremonies. Thus in one Protestant Church in which Lutherans and Calvinists have united, the Lord's Supper is still observed in two ways. All communicants stand before the communion table to receive the elements. With the Calvinists the minister gives the bread into the hand of the communicant, while the Lutheran is given a wafer placed by the minister directly into his mouth. The minister must remember who are Lutherans and who are Calvinists, for neither would partake of communion save in his own way. Even children born here retain this difference and adhere to it most faithfully. So with the singing. Many a protestant pastor has faced a crisis in his congregation because he sought to introduce hymn-books where the people had always been accustomed to psalms. If only the Slovaks would be as strict in their standards of conduct as they are in their adherence to tradition, Christian work among them would be much easier. Much patience, wisdom and understanding is required to lead these people religiously and yet no people have greater capacity for a rich and full religious life.

Religious affiliations of the Czechs.—The Czechs in America have seceded from their old country faith more extensively than any other immigrant race. It is estimated that full 50% of the Czechs have cut themselves off from the religious affiliation which obtained in Bohemia. In some localities the secession is even more extensive. Thus Mr. Čapek ("The Czechs in America," p. 119) estimates that in New York out of every 1,000 of the Czech population only 254 are Roman Catholics, 110 Protestants, 16 Jews, while 620 are without any church affiliation. In Chicago the Roman Catholics are stronger, and about equal the non-church group in strength. In Texas, Wisconsin and Minnesota, the Roman Catho-

lics predominate. The causes for this unusually extensive secession on the part of the Czechs will be discussed later. Let us now consider the extent and influence of the Roman Catholic Church among that part of the Czech population which still remains faithful to it or open to its advances.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Catholic strongholds.—In general, it may be said that the Roman Catholic Church is stronger in the rural districts than in the cities. The farmers of the Middle West and Texas are more conservative than the workers of Chicago, Cleveland and New York. Of the cities, Chicago and St. Louis are more predominatingly Roman Catholic than the others. In Chicago, the largest Czech city of America, the Catholics have concentrated their strength both in establishing churches and parochial schools and in locating there their largest publishing house and in publishing the Catholic Daily *Narod.* St. Louis was the place where the first Czech Roman Catholic church was established, and in earlier days was the centre of Catholic propaganda among the Czechs. It was in St. Louis that Father Joseph Hessoun, the greatest prelate the Czech Catholics have produced, labored, and even today St. Louis exercises an influence in the Czech Catholic world disproportionate to the size of the Czech colony there.

Distribution of Catholics: centers.—According to the latest statistics available (Katolik: official almanac of Czech Benedictines, 1920) the Roman Catholic Church has 338 parishes, missions and branches which are attended by Czech speaking people. Some of these churches are mixed, Czech-Irish, Czech-Polish, etc., but in the most, the people are ministered unto by a Czech speaking priest. There are

278 Czech Roman Catholic priests in this country. The location of the Roman Catholic centres by states is as follows:

Texas	79	Missouri	7
Wisconsin	56	New York	6
Nebraska	53	Maryland	6
Minnesota	29	Oklahoma	5
Iowa	22	Pennsylvania	3
Kansas	15	Virginia	2
Illinois	12	New Jersey	1
Michigan	11	Washington	1
So. Dakota	11	Massachusets	1
North Dakota	9	Oregon	1
Ohio	7		

The fields of Roman Catholicism.—Of the 750 communities reported by Mr. Čapek ("The Czechs in America," p. 64) as having one hundred or more people of Czech stock, in 313 Roman Catholic services are held. It is impossible of course to estimate even approximately the number of bona fide adherents of the Roman Church, inasmuch as they claim all children born and baptized in their faith, and it is well known that fully half of these remain but nominal adherents at least. If, however, we accept the quite universally accepted estimate that only 50% of Czech Catholics remain faithful, we should have about 400,000 of the estimated population of 808,928 within the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. Thus the Roman Church would have one centre for each 1,200 of its people.

Catholic missionary propaganda.—The Roman Catholic Church has shown much statesmanship in her handling of the peculiarly difficult task of holding her Czech people in this country. In view of the virility and insidiousness of the propaganda carried on against Rome by the Free-Thinkers, the wonder is not that she has lost so many, but that she has succeeded in retaining such a firm hold on such a large part of the population. In the

first place, the Roman Catholics have fought tooth and nail for the preservation of their faith among the Czechs. They were early upon the ground and at work. Wherever they found Free Thinking or Protestantism threatening to steal away some of their flock, there they have established a church or at least a mission station. When the Czech benevolent societies fell into the hands of the Free Thinkers, they organized Catholic benevolent societies and now maintain eleven such organizations. Not fancying the anti-church sentiment of the Sokol, a Catholic Sokol was established. Magazines, newspapers of all sorts, 20 in all, were established, for the spread of Roman Catholic propaganda. A splendid publishing house was organized by the Czech Benedictines, devoted entirely to the cause of Roman Catholicism. And last, but by no means least, parochial schools were instituted in every large Czech colony to save the new generation for the faith. There are now 88 parochial schools in our Czech colonies, enrolling 5,882 children with a teaching staff of 391 sisters. In addition, a college and seminary for Czech students is maintained at Lisle, Illinois, enrolling 174 and 46 students respectively. There are five Czech convents and two orphanages maintained by the Roman Church.

Rome active.—The Roman Catholic Church was never so active among the Czechs of America as today. Let no one think that the free-thinking propaganda has killed Roman Catholicism among the Czechs of America. On the contrary, the Catholics are pressing at every hand to take advantage of the wane of the free thinking movement, and to re-win the Czechs of America to their old faith. To be sure, the odds are against her. The establishment of an independent Czecho-Slovak Republic, in which church and state are separated has broken the old world authority of the Church. The Catholicism

that is arising in its strength is of the new world type for which an aggressive leadership is being developed from among the Czechs born and educated in America. It is American Catholicism that looms large upon the horizon of the Czecho-Slovak world of America, and, unless all signs fail Catholicism will win many more of the unchurched half of the Czech population than all the Protestant churches combined. It is a case of organization, statesmanship, and energy as contrasted with unconcerted, opportunistic endeavors.

Czech break with the Church.—In spite of this fact, however, it still remains true that it is not with staunch Catholicism that the Protestant religious forces have to deal so much as with free-thinking when they approach the Czechs of America. Among no other immigrant race has there been such a break with the old-world faith as among the Czechs. Other races have drifted away into indifference, but the Czechs have broken with the church and fallen into uncompromisingly hostile attitude towards Catholicism in the first instance, but incidentally towards Protestantism also. What is there peculiar about the Czechs that has driven 400,000 of their people in America out of the fold of any religious organization?

Causes.—There are many contributing causes. The early leaders of the Czechs in America, Naprštek, Klácel, and Zdřubek were rationalists and violently anti-clerical. The church, both Catholic and Protestant, neglected the Czechs in the early and formative period of their settlement here. But the real reason for the break with the church lies much deeper, and can be understood only in the light of Czech religious history and its effect upon their character.

Rome and the Hapsburgs.—In the opening chapter it was pointed out that the Czechs have a splendid

Protestant tradition, dating back to Jan Hus and the Bohemian Brethren; that the people have never been thoroughly Catholicized; and that to the Czech patriot, studying his own history, the conclusion is unescapable that Rome has always been too closely associated with the autocracy, despotism and oppression of the Hapsburgs to permit of his having any other feeling towards her but that of hatred and abhorrence. Consequently he regards the institution of the church as medieval, reactionary and unnecessary.

THE FREE-THINKING MOVEMENT

Anti-clerical movements.—The first man to voice such an abhorrence of Romanism in ringing words was Karel Havliček, the great Czech patriot who did so much to revive Czech national feeling in the middle of the Nineteenth Century. The early Czech immigrants came from an atmosphere which Havliček had charged with intense hatred of Rome and all her works. "Clericalism" is the word employed by Havliček and American free-thinkers after him to denote the Church in politics, the church dogmatic, ritualistic and formalistic. To the free-thinkers all church people, Catholic and Protestant alike are "klerikal." Havliček suffered for his attack upon the church and state in Austria, but his sympathizers who emigrated to America, found there an opportunity to make an open break with both without any fear of the consequences. The religious freedom which was so zealously sought by the Pilgrim Fathers had the effect of freeing the Czechs from what they considered to be the tyrannical bonds of the Church. They were like children who had been kept tightly leashed by their parents, and then suddenly given entire freedom. Their reaction was strong and

immediate, and of an extreme nature. Their long pent-up hatred of Rome was loosed, and took the form of ardent advocacy of what they termed free-thought. Naprštek, Klácel and Zdřubek, all disciples of Havlicek, were untiring apostles of anti-clericalism. The newspapers and national organizations were made the tools of free-thinking propaganda.

Character of free-thinking movement.—The movement had, necessarily, from the outset, a negative and destructive quality. The leaders were determined that the hold of clericalism upon the Czechs of America must be broken at whatever cost, and by any means at hand. Ridicule and abuse were the weapons generally used. One of the early papers conducted a column called "The Peep Hole" which was regularly devoted to exposé of the conduct of the Roman Catholic priests and nuns. The traditional beliefs and doctrines of the church were constantly held up to ridicule. A "Free-Thinker's Bible," was published in which crude and often coarse caricatures of Bible stories were featured. Robert Ingersoll was hailed as the American prototype of their cause, and his lectures were given wide publicity among the Czechs. There was very little of thoughtful, philosophical criticism. Voltaire, Thomas Paine, Renan and Strauss were quoted, but not widely. This was far from being a protest against Rome such as Luther and Hus before him had made. It was a popular reaction against an institution which had vexed and tried them, and which seemed to them to hinder the full and free development of their life as Czechs now living in a land of freedom where they were no longer under any compulsion to accept its yoke.

Point of view.—The point of view of the Czech free-thinker may be gained by the following quotations from their own publications; "A Czech is, as

a rule, either a Catholic or a Rationalist," "You do not find Czechs scattered among the hedges and by-ways between Rome and Reason, as you find Scandinavians, Germans and Americans." "When a Czech leaves the Roman Catholic Church, he leaves all churches." "Jan Hus made Luther and Erasmus possible; and these again paved the way for Servetus and Ramus; and these in turn cleared the field for Voltaire and Thomas Paine. This makes Hus the grand-parent of modern Rationalism." "If Jan Hus were living today, unquestionably he would be a free-thinker."

The following quotations from "A Small Catechism of Czech-American Schools" reveal how the Czech free-thinkers taught their children to think about religion:

Free-thinker's catechism.

Question:—What is the Christian religion?

Answer:—The Christian religion is a summary of views, opinions and imaginations of religious fanatics, that is, priests, bishops, popes and synods of the ancient and middle ages.

Q. What is God?

A. God is a word denoting a transcendant being invented by man.

Q. Why should we not believe in the bible, which is said to have been revealed by God?

A. The bible was written by men. Moses, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and others who wrote the bible were common people writing their views about things which happened at their time, just as historians write facts, while the priests and prophets of the old testament wrote according to their own notion or fancy.

Q. Are there three persons in the godhead, as the church teaches?

A. No, this also is an invention of the church, just as God is.

Q. What proofs have we that the godhead is man's invention?

A. It is nonsense to say that three different persons make one being, as if three apples could ever make one apple.

Q. Is it true that the three kings were guided by a star to the cradle of Jesus?

A. This is a fable written by Matthew. The other evangelists do not mention it.

Q. What is the aim of the churches?

A. To tell the people all kinds of nonsense, dumbfound them with farces called ceremonies, in order to replace reason and intelligence by blind faith.

Q. Are the churches useful organizations?

A. Churches are the greatest obstacles to human development, and it is the duty of every person to suppress them.

Q. Is the Catholic Church the right one?

A. All the churches claim to be the right one, but they are all impudent humbugs.

Q. Should we believe the priests?

A. We should despise them, because they are our enemies, darkening human intelligence with lies and supporting worldly tyranny.

They are our enemies because their organization is unjust and supports despotism, nobility and oppression. Under such so-called "divine" organizations, the working man is starving, while the lazy extortioner squanders money.

Q. Do the priests believe in what they preach?

A. A large majority does not.

Q. What is the object of their preaching?

A. To make a good and easy living.

Such arguments as these are fairly representative of the Czech "free thought" in America. It is an attempt to completely discredit not only Catholicism, but all organized religion. Protestantism has not been the subject of attack as much as Catholicism,

for the simple reason that it was regarded as the lesser of two evils, and was not strong enough to endanger "free thought."

Not an intellectual movement.—It is evident that such a free-thinking movement is a reaction against an old-world institution whose evils were most evident, and which in the new world, had not the power over them which it exerted in Catholic Austria. The free-thinking movement does not cast much credit upon the intellectual acumen of the American Czechs. Their arguments are easily answered by any theologian, and they fail to use many philosophical arguments which would have been more justifiable. It is, nevertheless, the expression of a free independent spirit, which is much more hopeful than that crass superstition and bigoted faith which so often characterizes our Catholic immigrants of other races. A break with the Roman Church of the Hapsburg quality is distinctly a creditable step, and a sign of intelligence and progress.

Its negative character.—It is regrettable, however, that the Czech free-thinkers could not have been more thoroughgoing in their protest. It is a pity that they did not have an opportunity of studying American religious life at its best, before discarding all religion. It never seems to have occurred to them that America is a new world in the religious as well as the political sense; that here there are churches in which the evils they had noted are reduced to a minimum, and which possess virtues which they never seem to think a church might possess. It is a pity that their free thought was of such a negative quality, destroying the old and putting nothing new in its place. For the break with all religious influences, combined with the practical atmosphere of America has resulted in a practical materialism, which is a woeful lack in a generation when the greatest need is idealism. The ideals which

stir the Czechs of America most deeply are patriotic ideals. But there are depths which patriotism, noble as it is, cannot plumb, and with these depths few Czech free-thinkers are acquainted.

Free-thinking the mode.—In spite of its obvious weaknesses, the free-thinking movement has captured fully half of the Czech immigrants to America, and in some localities a greater proportion of the Czech population. It has captured and made its own the most widely circulated and influential journals in the Czech language; the strongest benevolent societies, and even the Sokol. The Czech *intelligentsia* of America has been largely of the free-thinking school. It has become just as much the mode among the American Czechs to discard religion, as it is the mode in American social circles to make at least a pretense of church affiliation.

Camouflage for Americans.—But the Czechs have had sufficient acumen to realize that a free-thinking movement is not in accord with the best American traditions. Accordingly, every effort has been made by them to keep it a distinctly family affair and to minimize its significance before Americans. Thus while they do not hesitate to refer to themselves as "free-thinkers" in the Czech press and on the platform before their own people, for the American public they call themselves "liberals" or "progressives." Thus when a mass meeting was held in Carnegie Hall, New York, in the interest of the Czecho-Slovak revolutionary movement, the program announced in the Czech language that the meeting was held under the auspices of the Czech "free-thinking schools" (Svobodomyslné školy); but in English the term "free schools" was used, which is quite another thing.

On the wane.—The noticeable wane of the free-thinking movement in the last two decades is due in a large measure to an appreciation upon the part of

the Czechs that the movement raises an old-world issue, which is not paramount in American life. Dissent, protest and revolt are fed by pressure from above, and when that pressure is removed, the reaction against it necessarily disappears. Aside from a fundamental mistrust of the motives of the clergy, the chief ground of criticism of the free-thinkers against the church is that it misuses its power and privilege politically. With the church and state separated as in America, this argument loses much of its potency. The charge, so often urged by the Socialists, that the church is the servant of the capitalistic system, has not been pressed by the Czech free-thinkers.

New generation indifferent.—But the chief reason for the wane of the free-thinking movement is the rise of a new generation of Czechs, born here and educated here, to whom the entire issue is wholly artificial. It is impossible to fire the Czech youth of America with any enthusiasm in the battle against "clericalism." They do not know what the term means, and cannot understand why their parents are so exercised about it. Brought up outside of the church, they simply remain outside of it, indifferent alike to the claims of the church people and their opponents. Such young people are open minded on the question, and will respond to the appeals of either the Catholic or the Protestant Church, if they are presented in such a form as to meet the real need in their life.

Adults convinced only by example.—The adult free-thinker cannot be convinced by argument, for the simple reason that his revolt had its origin not in intellectual doubt, but in suspicion of motive. It seems impossible for the Czech free-thinker to believe that a priest or clergyman can be acting from purely altruistic motives, that he desires nothing save the opportunity to serve. This attitude is in

itself a sad commentary upon the state of a clergy which could produce such a prejudice. But it also makes potent the fact that such a man can be convinced only by example. The sincerity and unselfishness of the priest, clergyman or religious worker must be repeatedly and continuously demonstrated before his eyes before he will be convinced that the church has a useful place in society and a claim upon his allegiance. And a Christian worker who falls short of his ideal may, by his misconduct or selfishness, undo the work of hundreds of others.

PROTESTANT WORK AMONG THE SLOVAKS

Attention has been drawn to the fact that the Slovaks are apt to retain intact their old-world faith upon immigration to this country. This is true of the Protestants among them as well as the Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox.

The Protestant Slovaks are divided into two camps, the Lutherans and Calvinists. Together they enroll about 30 per cent of the population in the old country of which the Lutherans constitute 25 percent and the other Protestant groups 5 percent. It is natural, therefore, that we should look to the Lutheran Church to take the lead among the Slovaks in this country.

Lutheran work among Slovaks.—The Lutheran work conducted among the Slovaks in the United States is subject to classification in three divisions. First, there is connected with the Missouri Synod a Slovak Lutheran Synod to which fourteen pastors belong and which maintains thirty churches and missions. Second, at least six Slovak Lutheran pastors are conducting work among their countrymen in America without affiliating themselves with any ecclesiastical body. Third, the most important work

for Slovaks is conducted under the auspices of the Slav Mission Board of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

The aim of the Lutheran Church in America, quite consciously adopted, is to conserve for their church the Slovak Lutherans who have come to America: And this is a task quite sufficient to tax the resources of any church, as there are probably in the neighborhood of 100,000 Slovak Lutherans in the United States. The work has been carried on largely by immigrant pastors, trained on the other side. Of recent years, however, the Lutheran bodies have been making a most commendable effort to train Slovak-speaking ministers in the Lutheran schools of America. There are now eleven students preparing for the ministry in the following institutions: Allentown Preparatory School and Muhlenberg College at Allentown, Pa., Lutheran Theological Seminary of Philadelphia and the Lutheran Theological Seminary of Chicago. In addition the Missouri Synod is preparing some students for the ministry at its school at Springfield, Ill. In its provision for future leadership of the church's work, the Lutheran Church undoubtedly is far in advance of any other denomination working among either Slovaks or Czechs.

The Lutheran Church maintains a monthly Slovak magazine, *The Slovak Lutheran.* One feature of the Lutheran work deserves especial mention. The Slav Mission Board has a superintendent who speaks Slovak and who makes it his business to seek out isolated groups of Slovak Lutherans and to see to it that they have the opportunity to attend divine service at least once or twice a year. Dr. Rainer, the Superintendent, has an itinerary that takes him into nearly every state in the Union, and covers fifty places. This service must be of inestimable value in preventing the falling off of church people, and it

might well be adopted by the other denominations for the scattered colonies of Czechs and Slovaks.

Generally speaking the Lutheran Churches represent an old-world type of religious activity. Indeed the Lutheran authorities apparently have no other aim than to transplant the church with the immigrant. The number of communicants of the Slovak Lutheran Churches would not exceed 20,000 at a conservative estimate, which is but 20 percent of the estimated Slovak Lutheran population of the United States. So that there is still a large field of labor for the Lutheran Church, if they are to hold their own.

Of the other denominations, the Baptist Church has the most extensive work among the Slovaks. Fifteen churches and missions are maintained, the strongest being in Chicago. There are ten ministers now at work and six students attending the Slovak Department of the International Seminary, recently reorganized and located at East Orange, New Jersey. A monthly Slovak magazine is also maintained. The Baptist work is of an aggressive evangelistic type, and finds its most fruitful field among those Slovaks who have broken away from all church affiliations.

The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. maintains eight churches and five missions among Slovak Calvinists. A weekly journal called the *Slovak Calvinist* is the organ of this group.

The table on the following page shows the strength of the Protestant work among Slovaks according to the best information available.

PROTESTANT WORK AMONG THE CZECHS

The Czechs, being less apt to retain their old world church organizations than the Slovaks, have shown a great disposition to affiliate with the various American denominations. It is true, as will be

Denom.	No. Churches	No. Missions	Total Centres	Total Ch. Members	S. S. Members	No. Pastors
Missouri Synod (Lutheran) ..	16	9	25	2,500 1,000	1,000	14
Independent Lutheran	6	3	9		400	6
Slav Mission Board Lutheran	29	62	91	9,000	2,000	25
Total Lutheran	51	74	125	12,500	3,400	45
Baptist	14	1	15	603	670	10
Presbyterian ..	8	5	13	520	490	8

brought out later, that the majority of the members of the Protestant bodies in America is composed of those who came here with Protestant traditions, but, with the exception of the Bohemian Moravian Brethren of Texas and two independent churches in the Middle West, the Czechs have affiliated themselves with the regular Protestant denominational bodies.

According to the best figures available, secured by the survey of the Interchurch World Movement and from private sources, the strength of the various Protestant bodies at work abong the Czechs in America is as follows:

Denominational affiliation.

Denom.	No. Org. Churches	No. Missions	Total Centres	Total Church Members	No. S. S.	S. S. Members	No. Pastors	No. Lady Missionaries
Presbyterian (U. S. A.)....	50	13	63	3,324	49	4,139	33	11
Methodist	23	1	24	1,290	18	2,183	16	6
Boh-Mor-Brethren	24	0	24	1,523	20	1,000	6	0
Congregational.	10	1	11	753	13	1,220	10	2
Baptist	7	9	16	610	5	1,320	14	5
Independent Reformed	5	0	5	796	5	543	2	0
Reformed	2	2	4	150	2	75	4	2
Presbyterian U. S. (South).	2	0	2	97	2	88	1	0
Total	123	26	149	8,543	114	10,568	86	26

NOTE: Centers where the work is predominatingly among Slovaks are not included in this table.

Distribution.—These Protestant centres are distributed among the States as follows: Texas 50; Illinois 21; Minnesota 13; Nebraska 13; Iowa 13; Pennsylvania 11; South Dakota 5; Kansas 5; New York 4; Michigan 3; Virginia 2; Missouri 1; Tennessee 1.

Actual adherents.—Preaching services in the Czech language are held in 101 communities out of the 750 having more than 100 people of Czech stock. The total number of Protestant Czechs as indicated by the church membership and Sunday School enrollment is 19,011 or a little over two percent of the estimated population of 808,988. In the case of the Protestant churches, these figures are not always a fair gauge of the number of adherents. Thus Mr. Čapek estimates the percentage of Protestants in New York City as eleven percent. This would mean that there were 6,763 Protestants in New York. But the total membership of the four churches and Sunday Schools maintained in the metropolis does not exceed two thousand. This is explained by the fact that many Czechs in New York and other cities have at one time maintained some relation to the Protestant Church, and, having no other church home, call themselves Protestants although not actually members, and in the majority of cases attending services but infrequently. Thus it is said that in New York fully five thousand people claim the Jan Hus Presbyterian Church as theirs. This means that they were baptized or married there, or have at some time attended Sunday School there. Their minister in case of need is Dr. Pisek, the pastor of this church. And yet, such adherents cannot properly be deemed converts to Protestantism. They constitute a sympathetic fringe upon which the Protestant Church may draw if its missionary program is sufficiently vigorous. The same conditions prevail in Cleveland and Chicago, but in the rural districts the statistics of

church and Sunday School membership more nearly represent the actual strength of Protestantism.

Slight gain of Protestantism in America.—According to these statistics, Protestantism has in America maintained the same hold upon the Czechs which it had abroad, despite large sums invested by our home missionary boards, and despite the splendid field for missionary endeavor opened by the widespread break from Rome. It is a situation which calls for careful study on the part of those interested in the advance of Protestantism among the Czechs of America. This may best be accomplished by a brief review of the efforts of each of the denominations at work among the Czechs.

The work of the Presbyterian Church U. S. A.—The Presbyterian Church leads the field in its work among the Czechs, maintaining almost three times as many centres as any other denomination, and twice as many ministers. This is due in some measure to the fact that the Presbyterian Church seemed to the Czechs the natural conserver of the Protestant traditions which had been instilled in them abroad by the Reformed Church. The development of the Presbyterian work was also due to the fact that it entered the field at an early date. Rev. Vincent Pisek, D.D., was not only the founder of the first Presbyterian Church, the Jan Hus Church of New York, but was responsible for the development of the Protestant churches in the Middle West, in which three ministers brought from the old country at his instance, Drs. Pokorny, Bren and Losa, played a most prominent part. Of late years the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions has exercised a lively interest in the work among the Czechs, and has organized two Czech presbyteries, one in the Central West and one in Texas. The Presbytery of Pittsburgh through its superintendent of foreign work, Dr. Losa, has carried on an aggressive campaign among the for-

eign workers in that region including the Czechs and Slovaks. The Presbytery of Chicago has made a valuable contribution to the city work among the Czechs through the establishment of the Bohemian Settlement House, and the liberal support of the church work of Dr. Vanek. An interesting experiment is being made by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions in Texas, where the work is now being conducted by the Country Life Department along lines attempted elsewhere in rural regions, instead of being administered by the Department of Immigrant Work.

The Presbyterian Church has good leadership in its Czech work, thanks to the high calibre of the men who came over from the other side and the patient effort that has been put forth to develop a leadership here. But, for the most part, the Presbyterian work has been conservative, the pastors being content to gather together those who were Protestants in the old country, without a vigorous enough campaign to win adherents from non-Protestants. Like all Protestant denominations, the Presbyterian Church was too tardy in entering the field. The Czechs had been coming to America for twenty years before the first Presbyterian Church was organized in 1874, and even such a large and promising field as Texas was left to sporadic efforts until 1911, fifty years after the first Czech immigrants arrived. For this delay and neglect Presbyterianism is suffering today.

Congregational work.—The development of the Congregational work among the Czechs is largely due to the early efforts of Rev. H. A. Schauffler, D.D., and Rev. E. A. Adams, D.D., both of whom had been missionaries under the American Board in Bohemia. Dr. Schauffler was instrumental in inaugurating the Protestant work in Cleveland, while Dr. Adams opened the first work in Chicago in 1884. After

their decease the Congregational Church abated somewhat the enthusiasm for work among the Czechs, although the Schauffler Training School in Cleveland stands as a memorial to this splendid pioneer. The church work today is opportunistic and on the decline.

Methodist work.—The Methodists have at various times displayed great zeal for the work among the Czechs, but the selection of missionaries has been at times unfortunate. Some of the impetus given to Methodist advance work by the Centenary Movement has already been given to the Czech work where it is sorely needed. They have 24 churches and missions.

Baptist work.—Just at present the Baptists seem to be pushing their work among the Czechs with more vigor than any other denomination. The problem of leaders, of church buildings, of religious publications, is receiving careful consideration. The Baptist work is of a more decided evangelistic character than any of the other work.

Independent churches in Texas.—The history of Protestantism in Texas, and of the rise of the Evangelical Union of the Bohemian Moravian Brethren is interesting and reveals very clearly the slip-shod way in which the Protestant Church of America has met the religious needs of the Czechs. The first evangelical sermon preached in the United States was that by Rev. John Zvolanek at Fayetteville, Texas, in 1855. The first church was organized in 1864 at Wesley, Texas, by Rev. Joseph Opocensky. After his death in 1870, Rev. Louis Chlumsky was called from Moravia to take charge of the congregation. He in turn invited Rev. Henry Juren from Bohemia to assist him. There were few organized churches in this period, and the two pastors had all of Texas to cover, so that they were able to do little more than preach occasionally in each place, and

conduct the baptisms, weddings and funerals necessary. They were obliged to eke out their living by farming and teaching school. In 1889 these men were joined by Rev. Adolph Chlumsky, a man of extraordinary vigor and ability, and to his efforts is due the organization of 21 of the 37 organized churches now existing in Texas. Until 1903 these churches had no organic relation to one another. They were all independent congregations served by the same pastor. In 1903, however, Mr. Chlumsky formed the "Evangelical Union of Bohemian and Moravian Brethren of North America." Lately, since Mr. Chlumsky's death, the churches founded by Rev. Motycka, which had previously kept aloof, joined the union, making a total of 24 churches in the denomination. As there were only four active ministers available, it can be seen that these churches were very inadequately manned. In fact services are held in many of them but once or twice a year, and in very few are services held oftener than once a month. In the interim, the people have to shift for themselves. Mr. Chlumsky and Mr. Motycka after him are exceedingly jealous of the American denominational bodies and do all in their power to prejudice their people against all things American, but against American Protestantism in particular. No other denomination is suffered to enter the field preempted by them, and yet they themselves do not push the work vigorously, being quite content to be the priest to the people on the old-world basis.

Spiritual Results.—For such a survival of old world Protestantism we have but our own neglect to thank. We let religious matters in Texas take their own course for fifty years, and are but reaping the fruits of our neglect. The wonder is that with so little pastoral care the Czechs of Texas show so much genuine piety in their life. Homes in which the family altar is maintained and in which conse-

quently there is a good knowledge of the Bible and Christian literature are plentiful among them. Christ is the head of more homes in Texas than in the entire Czech colony of Chicago. The people there deserve a genuine ministry to their needs, and this might be accomplished could the Presbyterian and Bohemian Brethren find some common basis of action.

Independent churches in Middle West.—The independent churches of the Middle West are survivals of the pioneer work of Rev. F. Kun, who organized the first Protestant Church among the Czechs of America in 1860. Mr. Kun remained pastor of this church at Ely, Iowa, for 35 years, and from the beginning the church was entirely self-supporting. Two branch churches have since been organized. The same situation prevails at Silver Lake, Minnesota, where there is a large independent church which has been self-supporting during its entire existence. Although these churches have not affiliated with any denominational body, they are closely connected with the Presbyterian Church, through the membership of their pastors in the presbytery of the Central West.

Czechs in American Sunday schools and churches.—Since 1900, the Protestant Churches have increased the number of centres of work from 84 to 149; and their pastors from 62 to 86, but their Sunday Schools have increased only from 103 to 114, and their Sunday School membership has actually declined from 10,573 to 10,568 in 1920. This last fact is due in a large measure to the extent to which American churches have enrolled Czech children in their Sunday Schools. For example, the Jan Hus Sunday School in New York had sole possession of the field among Czech children until recent years, and their Sunday School enrollment was always in excess of 1,000. Of recent years, however, the neighboring

Madison Avenue Presbyterian, St. James Episcopal, John Hall Presbyterian and Bethany Reformed have been recruiting Czech children, with the result that there is a considerable decrease in the enrollment at Jan Hus. This is true also of the Czech churches of Cleveland and Chicago. More and more the children and young people are turning to the old line American churches. It is the beginning of the breakdown of the distinctively Czech churches, a perfectly natural and welcome development. The Czech church is doomed unless there is a revival of immigration; just as the Czech press is doomed. The young people want their religion in the American form and from an American institution. The foreign language church still has a great service to render in the transition period, but its most important service still remains with the adults who cannot be reached for religion by any other means.

Handicaps.—In the prosecution of its work among the adults, the Protestant Church is handicapped, first, by early neglect of the field; second, by lack of coordination in the work; and third, by an insufficiency of missionary zeal. The first handicap we can only regret, but the second we can, even now, remedy if we will.

Denominational comity.—There is no agreement even among the denominational boards, as to the division of responsibility for existing work, and no plan for the prosecution of new work. Some steps have been taken by the Home Missions Council along this line, but they seem to have been inconsequential. It would not be a difficult matter to have representatives of all the denominational boards concerned, meet with pastors of all denominations and determine exactly the division of responsibility. There is a crying need for colporteurs and travelling missionaries in many communities as yet untouched by Protestantism. If all denominations could unite in the

employment of such workers, the best results could be obtained.

Greater missionary zeal needed.—The best means of approach to the Czechs by Protestant leaders is discussed below, and suggestions will be reserved for that section, but somehow all Czech pastors and workers must have it burned in upon their hearts and souls that their responsibility is greater than that of caring for the Protestant folk of their community and is not discharged until all are brought in touch with the message and life of Christ. Such a burning missionary zeal is the *sine qua non* of all Christian work, but it is particularly needed in the work among the Czechs.

Summary.—By the way of summary of the religious conditions prevailing among the Czecho-Slovaks in America, the following reports from various sections of the country will be illuminating:

Reports from various fields.—Thurston, Neb.: "The Roman Catholics with the exception of two families are only nominal and rather inclined to be free-thinkers. Free-thinking is not very strong as a conviction. It is rather a mode of life which refuses to carry or recognize responsibility."

Youngstown, O.: "The Slovaks here have organized and built churches like those in the old country, namely, Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox. The Protestants were slow to grasp their opportunity, organizing their first church only three years ago. There is no atheism among them, but superstition which is the mother of atheism is very prevalent."

Westfield, Mass.: "The Czechs have a Sokol Hall, and their children (if they do go to Sunday School) are divided equally between the Congregational and Episcopal Churches. There are a few adults of the second and third generation who are church members in these two churches. The Slovaks have a Slo-

vak Hall where social gatherings are more foreign than in the Czech Hall, and where gymnastic work gives place to mere social intercourse. They have a small Roman Catholic Church which they find most difficult to support financially. If this parish continues the use of the Slovak language, it will lose most of the younger generation."

Ambridge, Pa.; "Free-thinking is unheard of among those Slovaks who do not come in contact with Czechs, save in the limited group which reads *Rovnost Lidu.*

Phillips, Wis.: "Of 104 Slovak families, 87 are Catholic, 11 Protestant and 6 unchurched. Of 286 Czech families, 26 are loyal Catholics, 14 Protestant, 141 unchurched and 105 have children connected with Protestant work, while the parents are free-thinkers. Thus in 240 families out of 286 the parents are free-thinkers. But of those who have left Rome 37 percent have their children in Protestant Sunday Schools."

MEANS OF APPROACH

Having now before us sufficient facts to enable us to determine the nature of the problem which confronts American Protestantism in its attempt to win the Czecho-Slovaks of America to its way of life and thought, let us turn to a consideration of the means which are being employed or might be employed to further this end.

Definition of purpose.—Let us, first of all, however, be sure that the end sought is no provincial, narrow sectarianism. It is not the mere formal acceptance of any given creed or dogma that we seek. Neither are we insistent that America contains the last word upon religious truth, any more than we are confident that our political, economic and social structure is not susceptible of improvement. We know that we have much to learn from these new-

comers to our shores. And we are zealous that they retain that which is best in their national culture, particularly their traditional religious ideals, and unite them with the best that America has to give to them. But we are convinced that the best in our American life is so inseparably bound up with religious ideals upon which the nation was founded and which constitute our most precious national possession, that no newcomer can wholly share in our American life without an appreciation of those ideals and a sharing of them. We are all seeking a way of life, and we are convinced that in Christianity, particularly as interpreted by the founders of our republic and their spiritual heirs, we have the Way of Life for all of us, old settlers and newcomers, as individuals, and for America as a nation. Briefly stated, we would have these Czecho-Slovaks join us in the adventure of seeking to follow the Way which Jesus followed, and from the same motives that dominated Him, to the end that our country may become in very fact a Christian country. Any means that assist us in achieving this end are therefore to be employed.

SETTLEMENT HOUSES

Social settlements.—Of the private agencies designed to interpret America to the foreigner, one of the most significant is the social settlement. These are of two kinds, religious and non-religious. By far the majority of our social settlements are of the latter kind, for it is a cardinal principle in most settlement work that the question of religion is not to be touched, but the social needs of the people ministered unto irrespective of creed.

Non-religious.—It is a fact, however, that even the non-religious settlements unconsciously do much to prepare the ground for the acceptance of the

Christian Way of Life. Their alleviation of suffering and distress, the stimulus given to arts and education, and above all the daily, friendly contacts of the finest types of American manhood and womanhood do much to make that better America real to the foreigner on our shores. With the Czechs much is being done by social workers to remove from their minds that suspicion of all professedly altruistic people and institutions, which is the basis of their distrust of the Church. With the Slovaks, stumbling in semi-darkness and yet craving the light, a great service is being rendered in the development of an enlightened and altruistic leadership. Hull House in Chicago and the East Side House and Lenox Hill Settlement of New York City, to mention but a few, have large constituencies of Czechs and Slovaks, and they and all institutions like them are performing a service which might well command a much more whole-hearted support of Protestantism than is now accorded them.

Religious.—Of religious settlement houses, that is, those conducted by a religious organization for a religious purpose, whether or not there is any distinctively religious instruction or worship, we have all too few. Charged by conservatives with being irreligious, and by social workers with being too religious, the promoters of this type of work have become discouraged at the prospect of having to sail between the Scylla and Charybdis of these two camps. And yet this is the form of approach admirably adapted to the needs of the Czechs, whose confidence in religion must be restored by the demonstration method; and of the Slovaks, whose social needs are so outstanding.

Bohemian Settlement House.—Two outstanding examples of this form of approach to the Czechs and Slovaks are to found in the Bohemian Settlement House of Chicago and the Gary Neighborhood House,

both maintained by the Presbyterian Church. The former institution, although maintained by the Presbytery of Chicago, is conducted as a settlement house, with the regular club and class activities. There is this difference, however, and it is a great one. The headworker and all residents and part time workers are chosen with a view to their religious motives as well as to other qualifications of the settlement worker. Then, on Sunday, a Sunday School is held and religious services in both English and Czech to which all attending the settlement are invited, but not compelled, to attend. The settlement activities, therefore, not only accomplish much good in themselves, but serve as well as a recruiting ground for the religious services.

Gary Neighborhood House.—The Gary Neighborhood House ministers to a polyglot community, of which Slovaks form a considerable part. In addition, to the regular settlement staff, the head of which is himself a Protestant minister, there is engaged a Slovak pastor, who not only has charge of the social work done among his people, but ministers to their religious needs as well through the Sunday School and preaching services. There is no doubt but that this missionary has had his work much strengthened by the practical Christian service rendered to his people through the activities of the Neighborhood House.

Jan Hus Neighborhood House.—The Jan Hus Neighborhood House of New York occupies an intermediate position between the religious settlement and the institutional church. It is like the former in that it has a resident staff, with a full program of social activities, but it is like the latter in its intimate connection with the Jan Hus Church, most of its constituency being members of the church or Sunday School. This institution has confined its ministry to the Czechs almost entirely, and, in fact,

makes a feature of the development of the Slavonic arts, music, and folk-dancing. Its most distinctive contribution has been made along this line, and much has been accomplished both in awakening American friends to an appreciation of the colorful culture of the Czechs, and in preserving in the young people a love for the beautiful in their national heritage. Of great import also is the attempt made at this church to hold the young people to the church, by emphasizing their religious heritage as Czechs, although in the English language.

INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES

There are few institutional churches which are ministering solely to Czechs or Slovaks, although many count some people of these nationalities among their constituency. The institutional churches as they have developed have ministered largely to people of American stock, and when they have touched the problem of the foreigner it has been along community rather than racial lines.

Institutional churches for Czecho-Slovaks.—Some attempts have been made to develop institutional churches for exclusive ministry to Czecho-Slovaks, but in no case has any great success been achieved. The Congregationalists have made two such attempts in their Bethlehem churches in Cleveland and Chicago. The former work has now been given up, and the Chicago work is dwindling. The difficulty encountered by these two churches is that of maintaining a united work for adults and children. Most of the so-called institutional work naturally is concerned with the children and young people. Where such work is successful, as it was in Bethlehem Church, Cleveland, a church service is developed in which the English language is used. This results

in a further cleavage between the old generation and the new, and it was on this rock that the Cleveland congregation split. Practically two separate congregations were developed, one Czech and one English, with no connection with each other save that they used the same building for worship. The difficulty of developing an institutional church for one nationality, is enhanced by the lack of foreign language leaders fitted to carry on such work. There are many Czech and Slovak workers capable of assisting in such work, but few have the experience, training and point of view necessary to carry such a work through and avoid the many difficulties which always arise.

Jan Hus Church.—One of the greatest opportunities to demonstrate what may be done along this line is presented at the Jan Hus Church and Neighborhood House in New York. This church has practically limitless contacts with the people of the community. It has a large constituency, both of adults and youth. It has a first class equipment for institutional work. But here again the question of uniting the work for the adults, largely in Czech, with that of the young people, largely in English, must be answered before the best use will be made of the opportunity presented.

United work for adults and young people: Difficulties.—In such a situation services must be maintained in Czech for the adults, and these services should be the culmination and fruit of all the institutional work for the adults. But there also should be maintained a service of worship for the young people in English, and to such a service all the young people's work should point. But there should be a definite connection between these two services, so that we shall not have two church services each attended by a different group of people, but two services for one and the same congregation, one in Czech

and one in English, to which both adults and young people shall be invited and urged to attend. That is, the old people should attend not only the Czech service, but the English one as well, while the young people should attend both services. In the Czech service every attempt should be made to give to the people an understanding of America's religious heritage, while in the English service the glory of the Czecho-Slovak's religious past should be constantly pointed out. Such a work requires a Czech speaking leader who thoroughly understands the ends and aims of institutional work, and an American-born leader who understands and sympathizes with the adults' point of view on religious matters. Such a combination of qualities is difficult to find, and has not yet been found, the lack of such leadership being one reason for the failure of the churches along these lines to date.

American institutional churches reaching Czecho-Slovaks.—Some significant work is being done for Czechs and Slovaks by American institutional churches, which find some people of these nationalities in their parish. The Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, Bethany Reformed, John Hall Memorial (Presbyterian) St. James Episcopal, Cornell Memorial (Methodist) in New York are all ministering to the Czecho-Slovaks in some measure in addition to the two distinctly Czecho-Slovak churches, Jan Hus (Presbyterian) and the Czecho-Slovak Baptist. The same may be said of every city with a large Czecho-Slovak colony. Many American Protestant Churches of Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Baltimore, Chicago, and Cedar Rapids (to mention only the outstanding colonies) have Czecho-Slovaks in their parishes and are extending their ministry to them. Practically all such churches have children of Czecho-Slovak parentage in their Sunday Schools and social activities, and many of these

become church members. Some have a Czech-speaking visitor or deaconess on their staff, and find her invaluable in the visitation of the homes, and in enlisting the interest of the parents. Some have Bible classes for adults in the Czech or Slovak language. One, at least, has employed an ordained Czech-speaking minister to assist the pastor and to hold preaching services in the mother tongue. Some have special services in English on subjects of interest to the Czecho-Slovaks. In some churches special musical services, featuring Slavonic music, attract good audiences of Czecho-Slovaks. But in all such churches, the work for the Czecho-Slovaks is an integral part of the whole program of the church, and not even a department or branch for the Czecho-Slovaks is contemplated. These people are admitted on the same footing as any others, and no distinction is made on the basis of nationality, save as the program and staff is adapted to meet their peculiar religious needs.

Good means of approach.—It is this type of work that is peculiarly needed at this juncture. It meets the needs of the young people; it can also be made to serve the adults adequately (although this is more difficult); it avoids racial clannishness; it is, if well conducted, essentially democratic; and it is more effective and efficient than the foreign language church, which is so often handicapped by lack of means and mediocre leadership. The time has come when each church must face and accept responsibility for the evangelization of all the people in its community, and regard itself as a home mission agency, instead of caring for the American population only and leaving the foreigners to home mission agencies. If every church were a home mission center functioning effectively in its community, the problem of evangelizing the foreigner and his children would be enormously simplified, and the home

mission agencies would be free to carry on work in regions untouched by any Protestant Church.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE CHURCHES

Importance.—The foreign language church or mission still has a great field of usefulness. In the past, it has been the only means of approach we have had to the Czecho-Slovaks, and the time has not come when it may be discarded, as much of its work must be adopted to meet new conditions.

Origin.—Among the Czecho-Slovaks, the foreign language churches were formed around a nucleus of people who had been Protestants in the old country, and who wished to maintain their faith and worship in their own language. They called a kinsman as minister, applied to the Home Mission Board for financial aid, and the work was started. With the Czecho-Slovaks the demand for such work arose from the people themselves, and it took much persuasion on their part to convince American church leaders that here was a great missionary opportunity. In New York it was a Magyar who first started work among the Czechs. In Texas and the Middle West, Czech pastors, themselves immigrants, saw the need and did their best to meet it. The average American pastor in those days knew little about the "Bohunks" and apparently cared less. The Missionary Boards were slow, conservative and parsimonious. Two American missionaries were exceptionally interested, and the cause of Protestantism among the Czecho-Slovaks was greatly aided by the pioneer work of Dr. Schauffler and Dr. Adams, both of whom had previously been missionaries under the American Board in Bohemia.

Nucleus from Old World.—Among the Czechs, those who had belonged to the Reformed Church abroad were the organizers and the moving spirits

of the Czech churches. Among the Slovaks, the Lutherans simply transplanted the old world Slovak Church for the benefit of the Lutherans who had immigrated, while the other denominations started their work with Czech pastors, or Slovaks who had been converted in some of the evangelical mission stations in Slovakia, organizing their work around the little group of Slovak Calvinists.

Neglected by Americans.—Had the American pastors into whose parishes Czecho-Slovaks moved had a sense of missionary responsibility such as is shown in some quarters today, we should have a different story to tell. But these Czecho-Slovaks were left to their own devices until very recent years, and that the Protestant work among them has reached such a stage of development as it has is due to the consecration and heroism of those pioneer Czech and Slovak missionaries. If some of the foreign-language churches have not developed as we would wish, we have only ourselves to thank.

Great service rendered by Czech churches.—The Czech churches have rendered an invaluable service in preserving the sturdy Protestant traditions of the Reformed Church of Bohemia. They have kept the love for the Bible burning in the hearts of their members; they have done much to develop the prayer life. More important still, they have insisted upon the Christ-like life, and have, through their preaching and personal influence, produced some of the saints of the earth. Furthermore, most of them have been men of intelligence, and not a few of them have assumed positions of leadership among their countrymen, so that their influence extended far beyond the range of their parish. Furthermore all of them, by their mere presence in the community have been making a constant protest against the Godlessness so often advocated and promoted by the free-thinkers. Most of them have been quick to understand the

spirit of America, and eager to interpret America to their flock. Poorly paid, ignored and often snubbed by their American brethren, these ministers have at great sacrifice rendered a magnificent service for the Kingdom of God in our land, and it is time that recognition is made of that fact.

Perils: Lack of missionary spirit.—At the same time, the foreign language churches have been subject to certain perils which not all have escaped. The first danger has already been alluded to. It is the lack of missionary spirit. Many of our Czech churches formed by former Protestants from Bohemia have shown a tendency to limit their ministry to Czechs having religious background similar to their own. Thus many such churches have become in effect exclusive clubs, like many of our American churches. In some quarters there has grown up an aristocracy of Czech Protestant lineage, which looks with some disdain upon those who have been converted from Catholicism or Free-Thought. This is the effect of the transference from the old country of the point of view of many Protestant ministers and laymen there, who, finding missionary propaganda prohibited under the Hapsburg régime, have devoted their attention to the intensive cultivation of those already church members, rather than to an extensive missionary program. Circumstances may have justified such a viewpoint in the old country, but here it is unpardonable. Every Czech Church should be a great missionary centre. And this it may be without laying itself open to the charge of proselyting, inasmuch as a large proportion of the Czech population is out of touch with any church.

Clannishness.—Another criticism which is applicable to many of our Czech churches is that of clannishness. Too often the influence of the Czech Church has been to keep the people out of touch with the American institutions and ideals, and to concen-

trate their attention upon the old country. This is notably the case with the Bohemian Brethren churches of Texas. There has been, however, a great improvement in this respect in recent years, due largely to an increasing understanding on the part of the leaders of the necessity of a complete amalgamation of the Czech population with the old-line American. Some churches still hang on to the spirit of aloofness and self-sufficiency. There is still much suspicion of any attempts to bring them more closely in touch with our American church life. This suspicion has recently been augmented greatly by ill-considered attempts at "Americanization."

Young people.—The task of the foreign-language church has been greatly affected by the rise of the second and third generations, and not all Czech leaders have adapted themselves and their work to the new conditions now prevailing. One of the most important questions which we must solve today is the relation of the foreign-language church to the work among their own young people. Few Czech pastors or American leaders have any light on this question. It is essential that the adults have their services in Czech. It is essential that they become as familiar as possible with the English language and our American point of view on religious matters. It is essential that church services be provided for the young people in English. It is equally essential that these young people have some knowledge of their parents' language and some conception of their religious heritage. The Church which can meet all of these needs, present a unified program and develop a harmonious working congregation composed of both old and young, would be ideal. At present, there is no such church. The young people are leaving the foreign language churches either to affiliate themselves with American churches, or to drift out of reach of the church altogether. Where

the young people are being ministered unto in English, the adults feel that they are being crowded out and that the church is becoming "Americanized." It is a perplexing and baffling problem, but it must be met and solved.

Slovak Protestant Lutherans.—The Slovak churches present a different set of problems, due, in part, to their different religious background, and, in part, to the difference in character and temperament. The strongest group of Protestant Slovaks, numerically, is the Lutheran. Here we have the clearest example of a transplanted Protestant church. The Lutheran Church in Slovakia is conservative, formalistic and ritualistic. It has even less missionary spirit than the Reformed Church of Bohemia had. The Slovak Lutheran churches in America aim to retain the same forms and ceremonies and the same spirit which obtained abroad, and they have succeeded admirably. In many respects, the Slovak Lutheran churches here are more Catholic than Protestant, and certainly they are more foreign than American. The members are, however, faithful in their attendance upon church services, and in the observance of the forms and ceremonies required. They support their church very liberally, many of the fine church buildings now being used by Slovak Lutherans having been built entirely from funds raised among the Slovaks themselves. Furthermore, they are doing much to develop a leadership for their church. Sixteen students are now preparing for a ministry among Slovak Lutherans. Quite consciously, however, they limit their endeavors to Lutherans, and quite unconsciously they seek to erect an organization along old-world lines. The Lutheran Church must enlarge its missionary horizon, and face new world conditions, before it will be doing its full share of the work of Christian Americanization.

Calvinists.—The Slovak Calvinists more closely resemble the Reformed Protestants of Bohemia in their heritage and tradition, and in the type of work maintained here. The work among this group has been undertaken by the Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists and, in a smaller measure by other denominations.

Presbyterian work.—The Presbyterian Slovak churches are more apt to conserve the Calvinistic group among the Slovaks. These churches are more of the old world type than the Czech Protestant churches, but not nearly as much so as the Slovak Lutheran churches. The Slovak Calvinists are sticklers for tradition and custom, and many a minister has found it well nigh impossible to induce them to deviate from their old world customs. They are, however, very devoted to their church, and much more ready to receive newcomers into the fold on the basis of equality than some of their Czech brethren. As a result, many of the Slovak Presbyterian Churches are splendid missionary centres.

Baptist work.—The Baptists also attract to their centers considerable numbers of Slovak Calvinists, as well as practically all converted in the Baptist missions in Slovakia. This provides a nucleus of very devoted and earnest Christians, who display far more missionary zeal than any other Protestant group among the Czecho-Slovaks. The Slovak is peculiarly open to the evangelistic appeal, and the Baptists are making good use of the opportunity thus opened to them in their various centers. The strictly evangelistic appeal to individuals has much more chance of success with the Slovaks than with the Czechs, and the Slovaks, when converted, are among the most earnest and zealous Christian workers we have.

Methodist.—The Methodist Episcopal Church having no mission in Czecho-Slovakia depends on the

home field for its workers. It has done, however, some excellent work in the home field.

Obstacles.—The foreign-speaking church or mission at work among the Slovaks is subject to some perils. Where the Calvinists are in the majority, there is the danger of devoting too much time and attention to the maintenance of old-world customs and habits of worship. Several churches have been nearly wrecked by a dispute over the use of hymn books. Where the majority of the adherents are recent converts, the danger is that some religious vagary or fanaticism may lay hold upon the people. The Slovaks seem to be peculiarly susceptible to Russellism, spiritualism, etc., while often the Seventh Day Adventists, the Premillenarians, or some other group which exalt one particular doctrine, are apt to find the Slovak converts apt pupils. The Slovak converts generally speaking are much more ardent than their Czech brethren. But their leaders must be careful to keep their feet on the ground. There is no nationality more open to evangelistic work than the Slovaks, but those prosecuting it must be wise as serpents and harmless as doves. Close attachment to some American church, or close supervision by the home mission agency would seem to be desirable.

CZECHO-SLOVAK BRANCHES OF AMERICAN CHURCHES

Not advisable.—The practice so often followed in our Italian work of establishing branches or departments of the American church for the Italians is not employed in any great degree among the Czecho-Slovaks. Nor would it seem advisable to do so. For the Czechs an extension of the regular ministry of an American church or the establishment of a Czech church seem to be the best means of approach, while for the Slovaks the evangelistic mission or Slovak church and the Christian settlement house seem to

produce the best results. A Czecho-Slovak branch of an American church or a Czecho-Slovak department in an American church would antagonize the Czechs and estrange the Slovaks.

EVANGELISM

Methods for Czechs.—Special evangelistic services, whether held on the street, in a tent, or in the church have never been in great favor with the Czech Protestant leaders. They argue that "Salvation Army" or Billy Sunday methods do not appeal to the Czechs and lower their sense of dignity of the church and its ministers. They claim that evangelistic efforts should be confined to the regular preaching services and to quiet unostentatious house to house visitation. Nevertheless some good results have been achieved by street and tent meetings by the few who have been courageous enough to attempt it. Such men have been subjected to much ridicule and abuse on the part of free-thinkers, but they can point to converts gained and that is the objective. Undoubtedly the church services and friendly visitation are the best methods, but even those Czech pastors who decry the other forms of evangelistic effort do not stress evangelism greatly in their preaching or in their contacts in the home. Here again the fundamental lack of the missionary spirit is in evidence.

For Slovaks.—Among the Slovaks the situation is different. The Slovaks have an even greater sense of the dignity of the church than the Czechs, and yet evangelistic services in the street and in tents have been prosecuted with great vigor and much success among them. Whole churches have been formed as a result of such services. The Slovak leaders stress the soul-winning function of the church, and they have shown some splendid results. Our message to

the Slovaks should be: evangelism must be sane; to the Czechs, there must be evangelism.

LITERATURE

The need.—Czecho-Slovak Protestant leaders of all shades of opinion are all agreed that the most effective agency to extend their work is literature, newspapers, magazines and tracts, both secular and religious in nature. They argue that the Free Thinkers won their way because they gained control of the press, and that we must fight fire with fire. They point out to us that while our American press is friendly or at least neutral to the cause of religion, the Czech and Slovak press is frankly antagonistic. The Czecho-Slovak is a great believer in the power of the press, and our Protestants are to the last man convinced that the development of a literature friendly to and supporting the Protestant cause is the greatest single need of the work today. Undoubtedly their contention is fully justified and their unanimous opinion as to the best means of spreading the gospel among their own peoples should be respected.

Secular newspaper.—First of all, there is great need of secular literature in Czech and Slovak which will be fair to the Protestant position. At present there are very few Czech or Slovak periodicals, aside from those issued by religious bodies, which will even accept a paid advertisement of church services. Furthermore, most of the periodicals never miss an opportunity to attack the church. Consequently our Protestant cause is never given a presentation before that great reading public which does not now attend any church. Many advocate the founding of a distinctively Protestant daily, following the example of the *Christian Science Monitor,* and rendering the same service for the Protestants as the *Narod* does

for the Catholics. Others feel that it is not necessary that such a newspaper be distinctively religious, but simply long for a fair-minded journal which will give to their cause the place it deserves in its columns, and which will, in its editorials, uphold a Christian but not a sectarian point of view.

Periodicals.—In addition to the daily newspaper, the need is sorely felt for weekly and monthly magazines and journals, which would have a distinctively Christian tone, and which could interpret to the unchurched masses the Protestant Christian point of view. Magazines of the type of the *Outlook* would do much to break down the existing prejudice against the church and its message.

Existing literature inadequate.—Undoubtedly we are facing here one of the greatest needs, if not the greatest, in our Protestant work. Such religious literature as we possess, and it is all too meagre in extent and scope, is not adapted to win the allegiance of those now alienated from the church or indifferent to its message. It is designed to build up and sustain the religious life of those already within the fold of the Protestant Church. Such periodicals have their place, and it is a highly important one, but it does not meet the need of the unchurched people.

Difficulties.—The difficulties in the way of the development of a Christian secular literature are great. The foreign-language newspaper is not a sufficiently attractive commercial venture to attract the investments of Christian business men. The various missionary Boards and publishing houses feel that they must first meet the need of those already affiliated with their church.

Win the editors.—Two ways of meeting this situation seem open to us. The first is the enlistment in our cause of the editors and owners of the newspapers. This is the logical way to meet the situation.

The editors are the natural leaders of their people. If we wish them to lead their people along the Christian way, we must first win them. This is not such a difficult task as some seem to think. Already some of the Czecho-Slovak editors are most sympathetic to the Protestant cause. An intensive cultivation of these men might work miracles.

Secular paper under Protestant auspices.—Failing this, and thus far we have failed, nothing remains for the Protestant forces to do but to launch forth upon a journalistic venture on their own behalf. Here is a field of work in which all denominations interested might unite. Indeed they must so unite or nothing can be done. The publication of a monthly illustrated magazine in Czech and Slovak would seem to be one of the most statesmanlike projects ever considered by the Protestant churches. The financial investment need not be great, for undoubtedly such publications could speedily arrive at self-support. A generous subvention at the outset would be a splendid investment of missionary funds, or of the charitable gifts of those interested in Christian Americanization.

Religious literature. Catholic and Protestant.—The superiority of the Roman Catholic Church over the combined Protestant forces in statesmanship and organization is well shown in the following comparison of the periodicals issued by each group:

Czechs:—	
Total Roman Catholic periodicals	20
Total Protestant periodicals	8
Slovaks:—	
Total Roman Catholic periodicals	8
Total Greek Catholic	3
Total Protestant	7

Superiority of Catholic literature.—The Catholics not only show a numerical advantage, but their peri-

odicals are far superior in form, appearance and, whatever one may think of the contents of the Catholic publications, they are well printed, nicely gotten up, and of an attractive appearance, which is more than can be said of many of our Protestant papers.

Protestant publications.—The Protestant periodicals are divided among the denominations as follows:—

Czech: Presbyterian 2; Baptist 1; Moravian 1; Methodist 1; Methdist South 1; International Bible School Association (Russellites) 1; Seventh Day Adventists 1.

Slovak: Lutheran 3; Presbyterian 1; Methodist 1; Seventh Day Adventist 1; Slovak Evangelical Union 1.

Denominational in scope.—Every one of these papers, Czech and Slovak alike, are denominational papers. Some are narrowly sectarian, devoted to the prosecution of a particular set of doctrines. The best that can be said of any of them is that they do provide religious reading for the church members, some material for Sunday School and Young People's meeting, and some news of the various churches of the denomination and of the church in the home land which help build up a denominational *esprit de corps,* and a missionary interest in those in the home land. This is a real service, and there is a place for one such paper among the Protestant Czechs, and one for the Slovaks, but there is not a need for eight publications of this character among the Czechs and seven among the Slovaks. There is serious multiplication of effort here caused by a narrow denominationalism which should be eliminated from our work. If these papers could be united, much money could be saved, which could well be utilized either in the development of secular literature or in the publication of new tracts which are sorely needed. Such an inter-denominational paper

should include in its contents sermons and religious articles by the leading Czecho-Slovak Protestant ministers, accounts of missionary work in foreign lands, particularly in Czechoslovakia; editorial comment giving a Christian interpretation of the events of the day; Commentary on the Sunday School lessons; aids for Young People's meetings; and many reports from the field of work in which there should be discussion of the problems common to all Protestant workers.

TRACTS

Inadequacy of existing material.—A careful study has been made both by the writer and by the investigator of the Interchurch World Movement of all the available tracts in the Czech and Slovak languages. It was a most discouraging study, because it revealed an appalling lack of material suited to conditions prevailing among the Czecho-Slovaks in America. Fully 90 percent of the available material is considered of little or no value, and other 5 percent of doubtful value. The reasons for the elimination of the tracts reviewed are as follows:—

Reasons.

First: A large group of them were published abroad, and had distinctly in mind old-world conditions. Accordingly however useful they may be to meet old-world conditions, they do not meet the needs of the people here.

Second: A large number of tracts were evidently intended for young people and children, being of the type found in our Sunday School libraries twenty years ago. Our Czech and Slovak young people, with some few exceptions, will not read such literature, especially in the mother tongue. Their religious literature must be in English.

Third: Some of the tracts are special pleas for certain dogmas or a certain type of religious experience, and are narrow, bigoted and sectarian.

Fourth: Many of the translations from the English are from authors whose message would fall on stony ground among Czechs and Slovaks.

Fifth: Much of the evangelistic literature is poorly done, so that for every one convert gained ten would be repelled.

Exceptions.—There is some excellent material available, however. All of the books written by Kristina Royova and published abroad are splendid. They are in story form and admirably done. A few tracts are available which would appeal to the thinking non-churchman. "Religion the Power of Culture" by Joseph Krench is one of these. There are a few tracts which aim to give the historical background of the Protestant faith and to show that the Czechs' greatest heritage is the Protestant Hussite faith. But there are far too few such tracts.

Kinds of tracts needed.—The religious needs of the Czecho-Slovaks call for the following kinds of tracts and religious pamphlets:—

1. Historical: aiming to show that the Protestant Church is the natural conserver of the faith of Hus and Komensky.
2. Apologetic: The relation of science and religion (to meet the arguments of the free-thinkers).
3. On America's religious backgrounds, the Puritans, Quakers, etc.
4. On the American Protestant Churches, their polity and policy.
5. Evangelistic: Miss Royova's works are splendid examples of the type needed.
6. Czech and Slovak religious history and backgrounds. This should be published both in Czech and Slovak for the adults and in English for the young people.
7. A course of Sunday School lessons on Czech and Slovak religious history for use in our Sunday Schools.

Need of colporteurs.—All workers among the Czechs and Slovaks testify that good religious literature is one of their greatest needs. But with that there would be necessary many more colporteurs than we now have. A sane, sensible colporteur, ca-

pable of organizing Sunday Schools or of holding services is the best agent possible for the extension of our Protestant work in those many fields which are as yet untouched.

Chapter V

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

LEADERSHIP

The success of any church work is, in the last analysis, dependent upon the character of her leadership. The church needs a purpose, a program, a plant, a purse and a personality—and the greatest of these is personality.

Importance.—This is peculiarly true of church work among the foreign groups in this country, where so often the problem is one of re-interpretation of Christian ideals and principles and where the character and personality of the Christian worker are taken as representative of the gospel they preach. In no place is the saying: "What you do speaks louder than what you say" more true than in a foreign colony. The suspicion and distrust of the church on the part of many Czecho-Slovaks sprang originally from a personal grievance against the clergy, and can be effectively removed only by personalities which incarnate truly the Christian ideals for which the Church stands.

Cause judged by its representative.—A study of the existing work among the Czecho-Slovaks reveals the paramount importance of leadership. Where outstanding success has been achieved, some consecrated personality, man or woman, can be found, whose heart and soul have gone into the work, and made it what it is. Time and time again, on the other hand, failure is directly traceable to the per-

sonality of the worker. Years are often necessary to undo the damage done to the cause by the moral lapses, belligerent attitude or tactical blunders of a worker in the course of a few months. The Czecho-Slovaks, particularly, are prone to interpret causes in terms of personalities. Their political issues revolve around personalities more often than around principles. Leaders in all walks of life are subjected to the most searching scrutiny, and criticism. Gossip and slander crop up upon the slightest pretext. In such an atmosphere it behooves the leader of church work to be more than ordinarily careful to walk in the straight and narrow path.

Dangers of personal influence.—For the church leader who succeeds in gaining the confidence of the people, a new danger appears, namely, that of making his work too dependent upon his own personality. There are Czech and Slovak churches which are known not by their name but by their pastor's name. Thus a church is known not as the First Church, but as Blank's church. When Blank dies or removes to another parish, his successor will have a constituency bound by ties of loyalty, not so much to the church as to the leader who is gone. This is one of the temptations of power, and is of much rarer occurrence than the temptations and dangers of weakness.

Careful selection needed.—Personality is of course something which is difficult to create in a man. Many inherited talents and characteristics are involved in it. Nevertheless much depends upon one's training. Education and experience can give a man's personality opportunity for full and free development, or it can cramp or warp it. In the first place, insufficient attention has been paid in the selection of candidates for the ministry among the foreign-born to the personality of the applicant. The tendency has been to welcome with open arms anyone who showed

the slightest inclination of going into church work, irrespective of his personal qualifications. There are men who never can be successful ministers. Such should be discouraged from entering upon the profession. Our work will only suffer by the policy of taking anyone that comes along.

Granted a personality capable of development along lines suitable for the ministry, the question remains as to the type of education and experience one should require of him.

Types of leaders.—The ministers now engaged in work among the Czecho-Slovaks may be classified as follows. First, foreign-born and foreign trained; second, foreign-born and American trained; third, American born of foreign parentage and American trained; fourth, American born of American parentage, specially trained. Let us consider the qualifications of each class of ministers for the type of work which we have outlined as necessary.

I. Foreign born and foreign trained.—In the early days of Protestant work among the Czecho-Slovaks, the leaders were largely men who were born on the other side and trained there. Some came over with other immigrants, some were brought over by denominational mission boards, and some left the homeland because of failure or scandal. The highest tribute must be paid to those early pioneers who took upon themselves the responsibility of seeing to it that the gospel followed their countrymen even across the seas. Had it not been for such men as Chlumsky and Kun, Protestantism would be much weaker among the Czechs and Slovaks than it is today. Many such men have adapted themselves admirably to new-world conditions, have become splendid American citizens, and efficient interpreters of the American conception of church work. Others have remained foreign in thought, speech and action, and the service which they have rendered has been that

of an old-world minister to a transplanted church. Those who left the old country under a cloud, and there have been not a few, and were received into the service of the church, have wrought incalculable harm.

Now that other sources of leadership are available, we should not encourage the transplantation of ministers from the other side, and certainly no such minister should be permitted to work in our Czecho-Slovak churches here, without the highest recommendations from the church with which he was connected in Europe.

II. Foreign born but American trained.—Perhaps the largest group of our Czecho-Slovak ministers is composed of those who, while born abroad, have received their collegiate or at least their seminary training in this country. Many came over as young boys, and went through High School, College and Seminary here. Others came with a "gymnasium" education, and went immediately into the Theological Seminary. The best leaders we have today are men of this type. They are well grounded in the Czech or Slovak language, and are familiar with the old-world traditions and customs which mean so much to their constituency. The best of them have caught the American spirit, have steeped themselves in our American religious tradition, and are leading their people towards such a conception of Christianity as shall enable them to take their place in our country as Christian citizens. Their chief weakness, and this applies only to some, is an inability to thoroughly understand the young people of their congregations. Some who came to America for their theological training only will never speak English without an accent. This fact, trivial as it may seem, is in many places a real stumbling block in the way of an adequate ministry to the young people. On the other hand, many men of this

type feel more at home among the young people than among the adults, and are able to carry on an effective ministry to both groups.

III. American born of foreign parentage and American trained.—As yet the second and third generation of Czecho-Slovaks have produced very few ministers. The lack of candidates for the ministry from our Czecho-Slovak churches itself reflects upon the character of the work done, although the same situation exists in our American churches. As a matter of fact, the young generation, having witnessed the bitter struggle for a mere existence carried on by the minister of the older generation, and having seen the way in which he has been snubbed by his American colleagues is not enthused over the prospect of entering upon a calling which will give him neither a living wage nor a standing in the American community. Consequently, those of the newer generation who are led into the ministry prefer to work in American churches, where these two factors are at least less active. Before the question of leadership for our Czecho-Slovak churches can be solved, these two difficulties must be faced. The living wage is, of course, a part of the larger question of ministers' salaries generally. A protest should be made however against the discrimination against the foreign-speaking pastor in the matter of salary just because he is a "foreigner." Many of these ministers, most of them in fact, are men of just as fine sensibilities and standards as any of our American ministers. To expect them to be content with a lower standard of living than Americans is an unjust discrimination of which the Christian Church should be ashamed. The matter of their social standing can be remedied at once, and should be, It is an evidence of our American provincialism and lack of true democratic feeling that ministers of good breeding, splendid education and excellent social

qualities should be held at a distance or looked down upon, simply because they happen to have been born abroad or to speak English with a slight accent. Nevertheless this attitude exists, as many Czecho-Slovak ministers can testify from bitter experience. It may not be out of place to plead for a little more Christian spirit on the part of American ministers and church workers.

Need of leaders born in United States.—The difficulties outlined above are particularly embarrassing, because they operate to prevent our securing just that type of leadership which we most need, namely men born here of foreign parentage. Such men are urgently needed to meet the new situation among the Czechs particularly, and only in a slightly less degree among the Slovaks. If such men can be given a thorough working knowledge of the mother tongue, together with the best education and training that our American institutions afford, we shall have our ideal leadership. They should be able to meet the situation even better than those born abroad, because of their more complete understanding of the young people, who today constitute the most perplexing problem. If the conditions of church work among foreigners could be improved, so as to obviate the difficulties mentioned above, every possible pressure should be brought upon our foreign churches to produce such a leadership. Our churches must prove themselves to be training schools for Christian leadership or they have failed of at least part of their mission.

IV. American born of American parentage. Specially trained.—Many American ministers are finding themselves confronted with the task of ministering to the Czecho-Slovaks, and, in our home mission work in cities and industrial centres there is an increasing demand for Americans capable of leading church work among them. It is obvious that some

sort of special training is necessary if an American is to minister to this group. It is the height of folly to suppose that he may apply the same methods in approaching them as he can in approaching an old-line American constituency. Even the pastor who finds his ministry to the Czechs and Slovaks but an incidental part of his ministry should at least familiarize himself with their history, traditions, and religious presuppositions, so that he may be able to make a sympathetic approach.

Special training necessary.—For the home mission executive worker such a knowledge is absolutely necessary, and should be supplemented wherever possible by a period of special study of the people either in this country, or abroad or both. The Presbyterian Board of Home Missions has made a significant experiment along this line in sending several selected seminary graduates abroad for a period of study in the home-lands of the immigrant races. The acquisition of even a smattering of the language is in itself an invaluable asset, as a "Jak se mate" often proves an open sesame to the hearts of Czechs and Slovaks. Still more valuable is the understanding of the people secured from a study of their old-world life.

Their place in the work.—To be sure, no American, however well trained, can ever take the place of the foreign pastor. But he can and should take the lead in the community and social work which is becoming more and more necessary in the work among Czecho-Slovaks. He can guide, counsel and befriend the foreign worker. And he can, even better than the foreigner himself, interpret to Americans the needs of these people and the opportunities for religious work among them.

Need of women workers.—In many instances it is quite true that the best man to put on the field is a woman. There is a distinct and most important

place for trained women workers in our work among the Czecho-Slovaks. Very often the best method of inaugurating a new work is through a woman worker, who through the kindergarten or children's clubs will reach the children, and through visitation the parents. In any established city church work, a woman worker is indispensable. Many of the clubs and classes cannot be conducted without her aid, and there is much pastoral work which can be done better by a woman visitor than by the pastor himself.

Qualifications necessary.—Such a woman need not be theologically trained, but her training must be none the less thorough. The variety of service which she may render calls for training along broad lines. Here again the question of personality is important, and more care should be exercised in this regard than has been done in the past. Too many women unfitted for any other task have gone in for church work and have been given positions. A thorough training must be insisted upon, and the standard of wage and of responsibility raised so as to attract the very highest kind of women. The temptation is ever present to make the woman worker a sort of pack horse to carry the burdens which are distasteful to the pastor. A clear division of responsibility should be made and conscientiously adhered to by all concerned. Otherwise discord is sure to occur.

Foreign-speaking women workers. — Generally speaking, the observations made above as to the kind of ministers needed apply equally to women-workers. For the Czecho-Slovaks, the foreign-born or American born of foreign parentage trained in this country is the best type of worker. She should be capable of assuming large responsibilities in the program of religious education and in the conduct of clubs and classes, and should do much of the visitation in the homes, and the relief work. Where it is possible to

have an American woman worker also, the club and class work should be placed under her direction, and the foreign speaking worker left free for intimate personal contact with the people.

American women workers.—In any extensive institutional work an American woman worker is indispensable. For the work among the children and young people she can be just as valuable as the foreign speaking worker, while she can do much to inculcate true American ideas and standards into the life of the young people. But such a worker must have enough understanding of the Czecho-Slovaks to learn to love them. The cold mechanical approach of many professional social workers must be avoided at all costs.

Summary.—To summarize our discussion, the best type of leader for church work among the Czecho-Slovaks is the foreign-born or American born of foreign parentage man or woman, who has received the best training that America affords. For the work among the Slovaks, we shall probably have to import young men from abroad and train them here. For work among the Czechs we should be able to raise up leaders, both men and women, from our Czech Protestant congregations. In addition, all American workers who come directly in contact with the Czecho-Slovaks should make it their business to make a special study of the people and their needs. A few men should be sent abroad for study, but most can secure sufficient training here. Above all, we should constantly bear in mind that in training leaders for religious work among the Czecho-Slovaks we cannot afford to use any but the very best material available, wrought upon by American educational institutions of the very highest standards. For through these men and women we are to interpret the most sacred heritage of our American life, our religious faith.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE TRAINING SCHOOLS

No statesmanlike plan.—What provision have we in America for the training of the sort of leaders we require for our Protestant Church work? It must be confessed at the outset that such provision for training as we have was tardily made and in an opportunistic fashion so that no carefully worked-out plan for training is in evidence. Let us first review typical institutions in order to discover how far they are meeting the need.

Slavic Department of Oberlin.—At the instance of the Congregational Home Missionary Society, Oberlin College instituted a Slavic Department in connection with its theological seminary. This department was open to students of Slavic extraction of all denominations. The department was directed by a Czech professor, and the majority of the students who have attended there have been Czechs or Slovaks. Students were accepted who have had a high school course or its equivalent, and a three-year theological course was given them. Courses were given in both Czech and English, and the students were enabled to take advantage of the courses in the regular college and seminary. The department has never attracted many students, and has just been abandoned. It was, however, a pioneering experiment of value.

Baldwin-Wallace Slavic Department.—At Berea, Ohio, a Slavic Department is maintained by the Methodist Church in connection with Baldwin-Wallace College and Nast Theological Seminary. The faculty includes a Czech professor, but he confines his efforts to instruction in Czech, Slovak and Polish languages, the students taking their other courses with the other students, many of whom are Germans. Here also a high school course is a prerequisite to the theological course, although efforts

are made to bring the students up to the collegiate standards.

Baptist International Seminary. — The Baptist church in the past approached the question of training along the lines of nationality. They have had a school for Italians, another for Hungarians, and a Slavic Baptist Training School for Poles, Ruthenians, and Czecho-Slovaks. Lately these schools have been merged into an International Seminary located at East Orange, New Jersey.

The Lutheran Church maintains a training school for Slovaks, and at present sixteen students are preparing for the ministry. This school is conducted on a denominational and nationalistic basis, being designed for Slovak Lutherans.

Dubuque University.—The Presbyterian Church has two institutions which aim especially to train leaders for foreign work, one at Dubuque, Iowa, and one at Bloomfield, N. J. The latter need not be considered here inasmuch as no provision is made for either Czech or Slovak students. At Dubuque, however, a distinct Czech department has been created, which aims to give instruction to the students in Czech language, history and literature. Academy, college, and theological training is provided. This institution was originally designed to educate ministers for ministry among our German speaking citizens, but with the arrival of our new immigrants, it has enlarged the scope of its training. Nearly three hundred students are enrolled in all departments, and a large faculty is maintained. The campus and buildings are constantly being improved, and the institution brought up to a high standard. In the past many Czechs were enrolled at Dubuque, most of them coming from the old country at an early age and taking academy, college and seminary training there. Lately there has been an appreciable falling off in the enrollment of Czech students, so

that while some are enrolled in the academy and college, there are no students preparing for the ministry.

Other institutions.—In addition to these institutions designed particularly for foreign-speaking students, many of our regular American seminaries have been attended by Czech and Slovak students. Some of the outstanding leaders today are graduates of regular American seminaries. Too often, however, the men thus trained have sought positions in the regular American churches, and splendid leaders have thereby been lost to our Czech and Slovak work.

Need of special training school.—There is no doubt but that there is a place for an institution which aims especially at the training of foreign-speaking men for the ministry. In the case of men born abroad, they need to be taught English, and to be given an insight into our American religious traditions. Those born here need instruction in the mother tongue, and in the traditions of the old country. This may well be done during the academic and college courses. It is very questionable whether it would not be wiser to have the students receive their theological training in a regular American seminary. This would be especially true if the seminary would provide for some instruction in Czech and Slovak, so as to maintain the interest of the students in that special form of service, as is done in the seminaries at Dubuque, Iowa, and Berea, Ohio.

Organization and aim.—In any case, it is clear that the problem is too large to be approached either on a nationalistic or a strictly denominational basis. It would seem to be a feasible project to have all the denominations concerned unite in the promotion of one school for the academic and collegiate training of Czecho-Slovaks, and in the promotion of one Theological Seminary. With the Czecho-Slovaks might

well be grouped the Poles, Ukrainians and Russians, and the institutions made Slavic in character.

Training in home service.—The need of special training for home mission work is just beginning to be recognized by the seminaries. Many seminaries have long since instituted special departments for training for foreign service, but Union Theological Seminary of New York is the first to give definite place in its curriculum to training for home service. This is a great step forward in the training of American ministers for work among foreign-speaking groups.

Training schools for women workers: McCrum School.—For the training of foreign-speaking women for church work among their people several institutions exist which enroll Czech and Slovak students. The McCrum Slavonic Missionary Training School at Uniontown, Pa., is maintained by the Methodist Church. The training provided here is largely in Bible work and handicraft, and is quite elementary in character. The spirit of the school is deeply religious, and thoroughly consecrated young women are sent forth to labor among their people. The educational standard is not high, however. Students are received who have not even had high school education, and little additional intellectual equipment is given them.

Coraopolis.—In Coraopolis, Pa., the Presbyterian Church has a training school for immigrant girls, the majority of them Czechs and Slovaks. The course here is of two or three years duration, and instruction is given in both Czech and English. One great advantage of this school, as of the McCrum School, is the excellent opportunities afforded for practical work in the Czech and Slovak missions of the surrounding mill towns. These two institutions have developed many a capable worker for our Czech and Slovak churches. The training given, however,

is such that few would be capable of assuming positions of leadership. But for staff workers or for missionary work under supervision these schools provide a fully adequate training.

Schauffler School.—A similar service is being rendered by the Schauffler Missionary Training School of Cleveland, Ohio. To this institution, however, American girls are also admitted, so that the foreign-speaking students have a certain contact with American students that is lacking at Uniontown and Coraopolis. A new building has recently been acquired, and plans have been laid for the extension of the equipment and scope of the school, which, if carried out, would make it the most effective training school for foreign-speaking women workers in the country.

Baltimore.—Some Czech and Slovak deaconesses have been trained at the Presbyterian Training School at Baltimore, where, however, the main emphasis is laid upon the training of American pastors' assistants.

Teachers' College.—To provide women workers with a better education and a greater capacity for leadership a Training Course for Religious and Social Workers has been instituted in New York by the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, with the cooperation of Teachers' College. A college degree is a prerequisite, and the opportunity is given to secure an A. M. degree at the conclusion of a two years' course. Practical experience is provided in the various city mission centres of New York. This course has now been in operation five years. Twenty-five students are enrolled this year. Many of the graduates of this course have become leaders in work among the foreign-speaking peoples.

Lay men workers.—As yet no provision has been made for the training of lay men workers, and yet in the city and industrial work among the Czechs

and Slovaks the need for this kind of worker is increasingly apparent. The way may be opened for this kind of training in the department of Home Service of Union Theological Seminary.

Needs.—The whole subject of training leaders for church work among foreigners is comparatively new, and there is great need for conference and cooperation of the various denominational bodies in working out the plans for the future. The great outstanding needs which must be met are more adequate provision for high standard training for women workers, some provision for the training of lay men workers and a coordination of the existing training schools for ministers. In such a vital matter we cannot afford to let denominational or local pride block our progress towards the goal we have in mind, which is, the training of men and women so trained and so equipped as to be able to really lead their people, and not simply work among them.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

THE FUTURE OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK CHURCHES

Depends on immigration.—The future of churches using the Czech and Slovak languages is dependent upon immigration. They are designed to meet the needs of these people during their transitional stage, while the Czech and Slovak languages are still better mediums for the preaching of the Gospel than the English. But if immigration should absolutely cease today, there would still be a place for a distinctive work among Czechs and Slovaks for the next fifty years.

Future function.—In the first place, the adults would have to be ministered unto in Czech or Slovak. Then the Czech and Slovak tradition is strong enough among the people of the second generation to justify the existence of a distinctive ministry to them. This ministry to the young people may be, and should be, carried on largely in English, but nevertheless many would be attracted to a Czech or Slovak church who would not attend a regular American church.

Increased importance of work for young people.—It is already apparent that the work of the Czech churches during the next generation will be largely concerned with the younger generation, and its task will be the conservation of their traditional religious faith and its transference into our regular American religious life. Along with this, there will have to be maintained services in Czech and a ministry to the

adult by Czech speaking pastors and workers. The duration of this Czech-speaking work will depend upon the volume of fresh immigration.

Slovak work imperative.—The work among the Slovaks has not reached such an advanced stage, due largely to the later arrival of the Slovak in America. Here the emphasis will have to be placed more upon the Slovak-speaking work in order to reach and hold the adults, with a gradually increasing emphasis upon the English as the new generation develops.

Changing populations.—In view of the changes of population in our cities particularly it would seem poor statesmanship to so identify the work in any church building with one nationality as to make it difficult to transfer the ministry of that church to a different group should the neighborhood change. Otherwise we should soon have Czech churches in Italian and Jewish neighborhoods.

Value of service rendered.—The pastors and workers in our Czech and Slovak churches are facing a discouraging task in many ways. Their best church people often leave them to join American churches, and they have little to show for years of patient, consecrated effort. But when the whole tale is told, certainly it will be seen that these churches and their ministers rendered an invaluable service to America and to the Protestant church in America. They constitute a bridge over which the Czechs and Slovaks may pass from an old-world religious life to that of the new world. If, after they have all passed over, the bridge is discarded, those who built it and guarded it will at least have the satisfaction of knowing that it served a useful purpose in its day.

THE CHURCH AS A FORCE FOR RACIAL ASSIMILATION

Conservation of religious life.—The net effect of the work of our Czech and Slovak churches thus far

has been to conserve in some degree the historic religious ideals of their people after their removal to this country, and to gain some new adherents for the Protestant faith, and way of life. They have helped to preserve an element which is precious and valuable in their national heritage for America. For there is no question but that without such churches thousands would have been swallowed up in the sea of materialism and unbelief and would be lost to the Christian forces of America. These churches have then assisted materially in incorporating in our American life one of the great gifts that these nationalities have to bring to us. They have helped America to assimilate the best they have to offer.

Helping America to assimilate the best.—Some Czech and Slovak churches have undoubtedly retarded such assimilation by an undue adherence to old-world customs and ideas, and an unwarranted separation from our American religious life. Many however have materially hastened assimilation through the interpretation of American ideals and institutions and the assistance rendered those who decided to enter into their full privileges as American citizens. The general effect has been neither to hasten nor retard assimilation, but to keep pace with it, and guide and guard it from dangers. Assimilation is a natural process which is far beyond the power of the Church to control, but it can be sure that it is a healthy process, involving the union of the best elements in two cultures, and this service the Czech and Slovak churches have rendered and are rendering today!

THE CHURCH AS A FORCE FOR NATIONAL UNIFICATION

Similarly the Czech and Slovak churches operate for the creation of national unity. Although it may seem that the maintenance of foreign language

churches has a separatist effect, and although in some individual cases that may be true, nevertheless the effect in the long run will be to make for a true union of the Czechs and Slovaks with other elements in our population. The best testimony on this point is provided by the lives of those Czechs and Slovaks of the second and third generation who have received their religious training in the Czech or Slovak churches. For genuine piety and purity of Christian life, they match the very best products of our American churches, and they are not only splendid Americans but fine Christians.

RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of the foregoing study, the following recommendations are made to the Protestant religious leaders and pastors who are interested in the evangelization of the Czecho-Slovaks in America.

First:—That there be held at least biennially a general interdenominational conference of home mission officials, Czech and Slovak pastors and missionaries and American pastors having Czechs or Slovaks in their constituency to consider the problems involved in Protestant work among these nationalities in the United States, and to develop a consistent, unified and statesmanlike program for meeting them.

Second:—That, at such a conference, and in every other way which may be open, through publicity, through the counsels of our home mission agencies, and in all our church bodies, the following principles and aims be brought home to the Christian people of America and laid upon their consciences and hearts:

The Protestant Church of America is responsible for the Christianization of those people who come

to us from "The Land of the Book and the Cup," and whose religious heritage can so greatly enrich the life of our nation.

Every Protestant minister is responsible for the Christianization of all the people in his community, and should therefore accept missionary responsibility for the Czecho-Slovaks in his community, instead of leaving them to be taken care of by the "home mission agencies." Every local church should be a home missionary agency.

Such American churches must approach their Czecho-Slovak constituents with an intelligent understanding of their political, economic and religious background, and with a sympathetic desire to meet their greatest needs in this country.

It is essential that a comity arrangement be immediately concluded by the denominations concerned, whereby there should be a distinct allocation of responsibility for fields in which work is already being carried on for the Czecho-Slovaks, and for new fields open to the Protestant Church.

Every Czech and Slovak pastor and missionary should conceive of his task as not being completed until all the people of those nationalities in America, regardless of their former religious affiliations, are closely in touch with a religious organization which is leading them in the true Christian Way.

Colporteurs and travelling missionaries are urgently needed to cover fields as yet untouched. Such missionaries should be sent out either by the denominations jointly or in accordance with the comity arrangement whereby new fields are allocated.

In any new work undertaken and in the further prosecution of that already under way, stress should be laid upon the importance of the Christian settlement and evangelism as a means of approach to the Slovaks, and upon American institutional churches and Czech-English churches for the Czechs.

Due recognition should be given to the heroic service rendered by the Czech and Slovak pastors, and every possible assistance should be given them in their increasingly difficult and oftentimes discouraging work. Particular emphasis should be placed upon the work for the young people, and every effort made to prepare them for full participation in our American religious life. English church services should be instituted in all churches at once, and both old and young encouraged to attend them. At the same time, as long as services in Czech and in Slovak are necessary for the adults, their children should be urged to attend such services with them. Instruction in the Sunday Schools should be mainly in English, but sufficient instruction should be given in the mother tongue to enable the young people to express themselves religiously in the language of their father and mother. All Czech and Slovak churches should be affiliated as closely with the American church organization as circumstances permit.

Unusual efforts to recruit men and women for Christian work among the Czechs and Slovaks are imperative, if we are to be in a position to make any advances in our work at all. Leaders for work among the Czechs ought now to be secured from our American Czech churches. It will be necessary to import Slovak students from abroad for a time in order to meet the demand.

The economic and social conditions surrounding the Czech and Slovak ministry must be of a character to attract the best type of men. All home mission bodies should be urged to so raise the standards of salaries as to enable the Czech and Slovak ministers to receive a living wage, and there should be no discrimination against them in favor of American pastors. Salaries should be based on training, experience and ability, and not upon the place of birth. Social discrimination against foreign speaking pas-

tors and workers should be denounced as undemocratic and unchristian.

There should be a unification or consolidation of the existing schools, the aim being a single interdenominational international school, which shall give to the students their academic and college training, they being urged to attend the regular American seminaries for their theological education.

The scholastic standards of the existing training schools for women workers should be raised so as to provide us with workers fitted for a more intelligent leadership.

The introduction of a department of Home Service in our seminaries should be encouraged, and the effort made to have instruction given as to the peculiar needs of the various racial groups, including the Czecho-Slovak.

A wider effort should be made to train college women for service among these groups.

All denominations should unite in a publication of a secular daily newspaper under Protestant auspices.

Some unification or consolidation should be effected among the existing Protestant religious periodicals, the aim being to have one good paper for the Czechs, and one for the Slovaks.

All denominations should unite in the preparation and publication of new tracts in Czech and in Slovak. This is one of the most urgent needs.

The Czech and Slovak churches should be encouraged in their support of Protestant work in Czechoslovakia, and this should be regarded as the peculiar foreign missionary responsibility.

Our constant aim should be to develop in America a united nation—united in Christ.

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